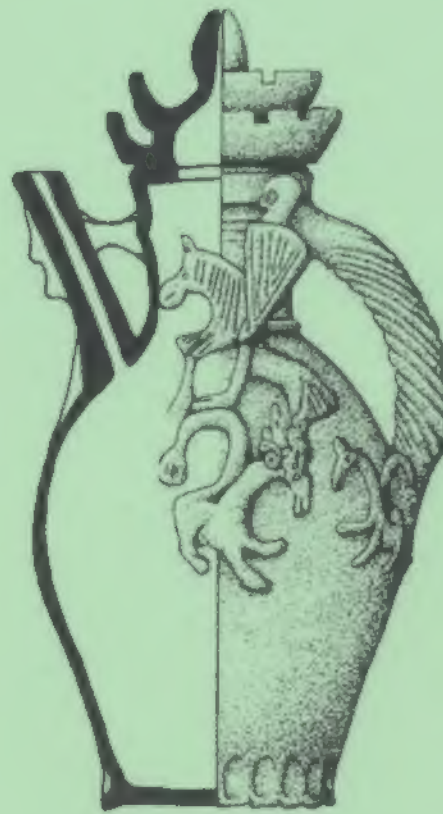


R. B.

TRANSACTIONS



of the
SCARBOROUGH
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
AND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NUMBER 41: 2008

SCARBOROUGH ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TRANSACTIONS

Number 41: 2008

EDITORIAL	3
NOTES FROM THE CHAIR CHRISTOPHER HALL	4
SIR THOMAS HOBY: A MISSING PERSON JACK BINNS	6
LIFE AS A PROVINCIAL PUBLISHER IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY: JOHN COLE AND THE SCARBOROUGH ROOM GILL BUCKLE	16
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SCARBOROUGH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX OF MINISTERS 1835 TO 1913 ANNE AND PAUL BAYLISS	28
WALSHAW'S CRYSTAL GARDEN CHRIS EVANS	47
'VOTES FOR WOMEN': ADELA PANKHURST AND THE SCARBOROUGH CAMPAIGN GILLIAN SLEIGHTHOLME	52
THE SCARBOROUGH COMMUNITY ARCHIVE NETWORK MARK VESEY	66
REVIEW	70

Edited by Keith Johnston

ISSN 1474-1229

First published 2009 by the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society
P.O. Box 378
Scarborough YO12 4WS

www.scarborough-heritage.org

ISSN 1474-1229

Copyright © 2009 the authors of articles

All rights reserved. Reproduction of this journal, or any individual article within it, by photocopying or electronic means for non-commercial purposes is permitted.

Otherwise, no part of this journal may be reproduced, adapted, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise without the prior written permission of the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society. Requests for commercial reproduction or any other publication query should be addressed to the Publications Manager, Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society, 30 Sussex Street, Scarborough YO11 1BJ or to:
publications@scarborough-heritage.org

Printed and bound in Great Britain

Editorial

On June 6th 2009 I travelled to London to attend the annual Local History Day organised by the British Association for Local History in order to witness the presentation of an award to Christiane Kroebel for her article, 'A Hypothesis on the Origins of St Oswald's Church and Lythe Parish, 650-1100', published in *Transactions* 40, 2007. It was a splendid occasion and a day thoroughly enjoyed by all who attended, not least by Christiane and her family. I should like to congratulate Christiane on this prestigious award, which has brought valuable publicity to the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society.

On the Local History Day it was also good to hear the quality of the Society's *Transactions* praised by Dr. Alan Crosby, editor of *The Local Historian*. However, to maintain this high standard takes many hours of work by contributors and editor and does sometimes mean that publication is delayed and I must offer my apologies to contributors and readers for the late appearance of this volume. We intend to publish the 2009 *Transactions* early in 2010 and then the following volume in autumn 2010, by which time we will be back on schedule.

This volume contains a wide variety of articles, most of them on the modern period. I hope that contributors will not neglect the earlier centuries of the history of Scarborough and the surrounding area and should be delighted to receive articles about these years. I'm perfectly happy to discuss proposals for articles before the authors put pen to paper – or, preferably, fingers to keyboards!

I'm particularly pleased that this year's *Transactions* includes Gillian Sleightholme's article on the local campaign for votes for women. When Jill Liddington visited Scarborough in 2006 and gave an excellent talk on suffragettes in the north of England, I promised that if anyone researched the history of the movement in Scarborough I'd publish the results of the research. Gillian responded to the challenge, with the excellent results that can be seen in this volume.

Two of our regular contributors, Anne and Paul Bayliss, have included with their article on the Roman Catholic Church in Scarborough an appendix listing what is known about the ministers of the period. They would be delighted to receive any additional information about these priests and can be contacted by email at p.f.c.b.@tesco.net.

In the editorial of the previous *Transactions* I recommended a book that had particularly impressed me. This time I'd like to draw your attention to one of the Society's own publications, the very informative *Trods of the North York Moors: A Gazetteer of Flagged Paths* by Chris Evans. Reading this very well-produced volume should encourage you to explore the trods for yourselves, a delightful way of exploring our local area.

My thanks are offered to all those who have contributed to the production of this volume of *Transactions*, particularly, as usual, to Farrell Burnett, without whose work it would be very difficult to maintain the high standards which we strive to achieve.

Keith Johnston

Notes from the Chair

By CHRISTOPHER HALL

The Society's Annual General Meeting on April 2009 saw several 'changes at the top' when John Rushton stepped down as president and Colin Barnes finished his period in office as chairman. At the AGM Colin Barnes referred to how successful the Society is and because of this success how it has become many things to many people – learned society, successful and highly respected publisher of research, educational charity, highly regarded field team and a social group. On taking over the chairmanship, and as a long standing member, I thought it would be of interest for me to give a personal view of the Society and some of its activities over the last year or so and what it has achieved. Hopefully this will become a regular feature of *Transactions*.

I should like to start by thanking both Colin Barnes and John Rushton for their contributions to the running of the Society. John Rushton was first elected to the post of vice-president in 1986 and to president in 2000. He has been very much a 'hands-on' president and has contributed in many ways. I shall certainly not forget his contribution to the Community Heritage Initiative and in particular his success in getting otherwise sane members of the Society to don medieval dress and parade around the streets of Scarborough.

When I first joined the Society in the mid 1970s, a feature of its programme was excursions, two or three of them a year, and indeed they had been established in the first decade of the Society's life, initially using local bus and rail services – e.g. '13 August 1958, Hackness Hall and church, 2:20 pm, Forge Valley bus from County Garage' – this is a little piece of social history in its own right. The Society's excursions went out of favour in the late 1990s so May 2009 saw something of a revival with an excursion to the Bowes Museum. We have, on occasions in the past, served tea and coffee before our lectures but during the year this was put on a more regular basis and as a consequence the start of meetings is made more friendly. Thanks to all who have helped in these initiatives.

We should not forget, however, that the Society is a registered charity with specific aims and objectives set out in our constitution: these can best be summarised as archaeological and historical research into the Scarborough area and the dissemination of that information and knowledge. In delivering our charitable objectives, we have had a very successful year on several fronts.

The Society has been publishing *Transactions* continuously since 1958. This in itself is a significant achievement for a small society especially as the circulation of this journal is very much wider than our membership through the UK copyright libraries and other universities and institutions. It is therefore gratifying that the edition of *Transactions* which came out in the fiftieth anniversary of publication received a national accolade when an article by Christiane Kroebe received an award from the British Association for Local History. Keith Johnston has referred to this in greater detail in his Editorial.

Publishing *Transactions* is a traditional form of dissemination of information but the Society has also successfully embraced the internet; the funding provided through our Community Heritage Initiative allowed us to set up our own web site. The Society is lucky to have someone with the skill and expertise of Linda Kemp to look after the web site and during the year she gave it a makeover which has given it a new appearance and faster operation (www.scarborough-heritage.org).

Fieldwork has always been one of the strengths of the Society and indeed it was originally founded as an excavating society. Our excavations are highly regarded as evidenced by the acclaim given to our publication *The Archaeology of Medieval Scarborough* which has enjoyed good sales this year. Fieldwork does not always involve excavation and the Society has been more than happy to support the work of Chris Evans in discovering, examining and recording the paved causeways (popularly known as trods) which are characteristic of the North York Moors. Chris' work has greatly added to our knowledge of these features and *Trods of the North York Moors*, which we produced in conjunction with the North York Moors National Park Authority and published in 2008, immediately proved very popular and had to be reprinted just a few months later. The book attracted widespread attention in the press. The 'heritage asset', as we now must call it, not only includes big well-known features such as Scarborough Castle, but also the innumerable small features, often unknown or overlooked, which go together to make the complex, diverse and rich historic landscape we have around us and which is so easily damaged or, even worse, lost. Chris Evans' work should ensure that trods are better protected and it has also demonstrated that there is valuable work to be done by volunteer field archaeologists in recording other features of the landscape – if you have an interesting project let us know.

The publication of *Transactions* and books such as *Trods of the North York Moors* is time consuming and demanding and I should like to thank all who have contributed to bringing these to fruition.

This is just a flavour of what the Society has been doing and I would like to thank the committee members and others who have taken an active role in the life of the Society for making this all possible.

Chris Hall
Chairman 2009–2010

Sir Thomas Hoby: A Missing Person

By JACK BINNS

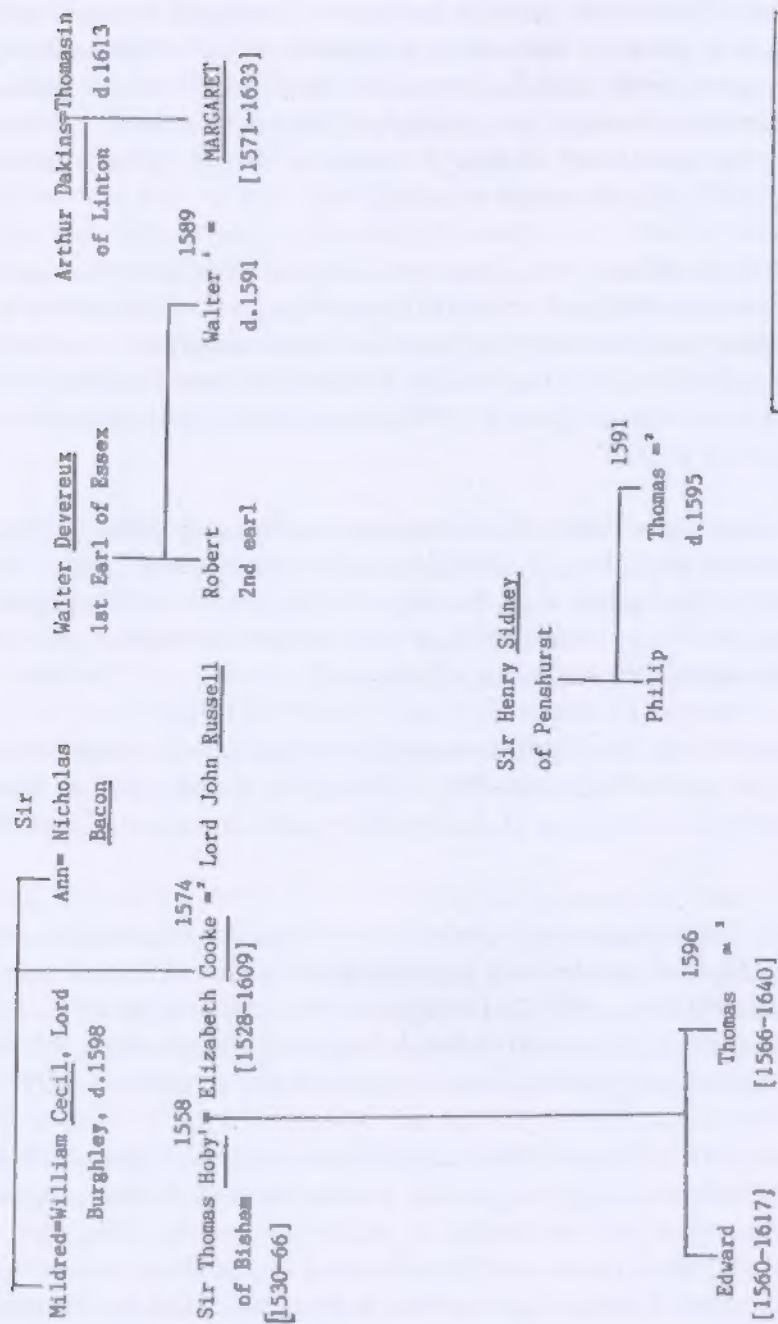
Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby (1566–1640) has been overshadowed historically by his better remembered and renowned wife, Lady Margaret Hoby (1571–1633) of Hackness Hall. This is extraordinary. In history, fathers, husbands, brothers and sons are usually recalled, whereas mothers, wives, sisters and daughters are frequently lost in the mists of time and male prejudice. Lady Margaret had three husbands in succession, no children and was herself an only child, but the accidental survival of a fragment of her diary, starting in August 1599 and ending abruptly in July 1605, has rewarded her with a place and a prominence denied to her third husband.

Lady Margaret's manuscript, which consists of 118 closely written folios, has been in the British Library since 1883, when its trustees bought it from one of the Sydenham family who inherited Hackness from the Hobys.¹ As long ago as 1930, the holograph was expertly transcribed, edited and published by a leading historian of the period, Dr Dorothy Meads. Her now rare and valuable book was sold by Scarborough Public Library for 50 pence and in June 2007 most gratefully received as a gift by the author of this paper.² Meanwhile, in 1998, a second edition of the diary, heavily dependent on the first, was published by Joanna Moody of York University under the rather misleading title of *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady*.³

Over a century later, in 1993, Lady Margaret at last won recognition as 'a diarist' in an additional volume of 'missing persons' in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.⁴ Subsequently, she secured a deserved site in the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, published in 2004.⁵ Yet in the sharpest contrast, Sir Thomas remains a private person, a shadowy figure known merely as the last husband of a famous diarist, unworthy, it seems, of even a brief biography alongside his wife. To add insult to unjustified neglect, the reference to him in the entry on Lady Margaret in the *ODNB* gives the date of his death wrongly as 1644 instead of 1640!

Today, not much survives outwardly of the once formidable presence of Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby, who was lord of the manor of Hackness for more than 40 years; yet in his time he was extremely well connected and mixed with the highest in the land. He was called 'Posthumous' because his father, a brilliant scholar, linguist and Queen Elizabeth's ambassador in Paris, died of the plague there before he was born. His uncle was William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and his cousin was Robert Cecil, both in their time the most powerful and trusted ministers under Elizabeth and James. His stepfather, Lord John Russell, was one of the kingdom's foremost peers.

During his long political career, Thomas was elected to the House of Commons no fewer than ten times, for Appleby in 1589 and 1593, for Scarborough in 1597 and 1604, and for Ripon in 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626 and 1628. In the space of 40 years, he was absent from only one parliament, Elizabeth's last in 1601.⁶ As a soldier, in 1586 he served under Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester, in the Netherlands, and later he was knighted for his military conduct in Ireland in 1594.⁷



FAMILY CONNECTIONS OF THE

HOBYS OF HACKNESS

However, despite his elevated family connections, as a second son Thomas lacked landed inheritance. Since his elder brother, Edward, had succeeded to the Hoby estate at Bisham in Berkshire, the only hope for him was to marry a rich heiress and found his own family.

Margaret Dakins was the only child of Arthur Dakins of Linton near Malton on the East Riding wolds. We know little of her father's background probably because he appears to have made a fortune as a privateer and was at pains to conceal it. His recently acquired coat of arms was decorated with ships' anchors and carried the motto, 'Strike, Dakins!' Nevertheless, Margaret was brought up in the privileged household of the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon who lived in King's Manor at York. There she imbibed the puritan doctrines and strict lifestyle of her mentors.⁸

Consequently, several landless young suitors sought Margaret in marriage, but Huntingdon chose his cousin Walter Devereux, the younger son of the earl of Essex to be her first groom. Margaret was then only 18 years old. Accordingly the manor and rectory of Hackness were bought for the young couple for £6,500 from Sir John Constable of Burton Constable. Arthur Dakins gave £3,000, the earl of Essex the same sum, and Huntingdon the remaining £500.⁹

Hackness had once been part of the extensive estate of Whitby Abbey. Altogether the manor covered an area of more than 11,000 acres, and as well as the 'town' of Hackness it included the hamlets of Langdale End, Everley, Broxa, Silpho, Suffield and Harwood Dale and the farms between them. Within its boundaries there were about 200 housesteads and four water-mills on the river Derwent.¹⁰

But Walter Devereux did not live long enough to enjoy his land or his bride: in 1591, after only two years, when he had seen little of Margaret and nothing of Hackness, he was killed by a cannonball at the siege of Rouen. Margaret returned to King's Manor as a 20-year-old widow.¹¹

Yet Margaret was too eligible to remain a widow for long. The Huntingdons then chose Thomas Sidney, their nephew, as her next husband. Like Walter, Thomas was a younger son of an illustrious, southern aristocratic family; but this time Margaret found a man she liked and who returned her fondness. It therefore came as a devastating blow to her in 1595 when Thomas died suddenly. She was now twice widowed and still only 24.¹²

It was at this moment that Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby made his entrance. For years his formidable mother had been trying to get him married and now she saw her and his opportunity. However, after two husbands in rapid succession, Margaret was most reluctant to take a third. Probably she now believed that God did not intend her to marry and have children. So when Thomas first arrived at Hackness Hall in October 1595 she told him that she was now content to remain a widow in mourning. When Thomas returned to the pursuit a month later, this time reinforced with 'faire jewels and pearls', he was again refused. Margaret was not the kind of lady to be won over with precious stones.¹³

However, now close to death, the Earl of Huntingdon did the trick. In a last letter to Margaret he implored her to accept Sir Thomas: '... for God's cause have care of our credyts, and soe handle the matter as his [Hoby's] commyne agayne may be neyther offensyve to you nor displeasyng to hymselfe'.¹⁴ She gave in. Sir Thomas and Margaret

were married in August 1596 at Lady Russell's house in Blackfriars, London. As befitted a puritan wedding, instead of music and dancing at the reception there was only a sermon and dinner.¹⁵

Margaret and Thomas were well matched: both were puritanical Protestants inculcated in severe Calvinist theology and with a passionate horror of Catholicism. It was to Margaret's Protestantism that Huntingdon had made his final appeal. As Lord President of the Council of the North since 1572, he had been conducting an official campaign against leading Yorkshire Catholic families, such as the Eures of Malton and the Cholmleys of Whitby, whose loyalty to Elizabeth was thought to be less than total. In 1595 England was still at war with Catholic Spain; though Philip's Armada had been defeated in 1588, the danger of invasion remained. Not least of Huntingdon's fears was the alarming news of the warm welcome given by families such as the Cholmleys at Whitby to Catholic missionary priests arriving by sea from the continent. Given Hoby's parliamentary and military experience and his well-established links with the court, his presence at Hackness would provide London and York with a reliable source of vital information. Hackness would become a Protestant look-out and a listening post in a sea of papists.

Sure enough, though a complete outsider, Sir Thomas was soon in the thick of local politics and administration. As early as 1596 he was appointed a justice of the peace in the East Riding and in the North Riding by 1601. Scarborough's Common Council of 44 chose him as one of their two Members of Parliament in 1597 after he had failed to win one of Yorkshire's two shire seats. Soon he was supervising the collection of taxes and mustering the local militia or trained bands. It seemed that nothing was safe from his humourless, haughty, searching investigations and reforms; his knowledge of the law was intimidating; and his pursuit of Catholic recusants unrelenting. A reaction against him was inevitable.¹⁶

On Tuesday, 26 August 1600, six of Hoby's neighbours arrived at Hackness Hall with their servants, horses, dogs and hawks. They had not been invited. They claimed Hoby's hospitality on the specious grounds that they needed rest and refreshment after a day's hunting and were too far away from their homes. The party consisted of two Eures, Sir William, brother of Ralph, the third Lord Eure and Ralph's eldest son, also called William; William Dawney of Ayton, son-in-law of Ralph; Richard Cholmley, the 20-year-old heir of Sir Henry of Roxby and Whitby; William Hildyard, the younger; and Stephen Hutchinson, of Wykeham Abbey. Apart from Sir William, all of them were youthful, high spirited and immature. All six belonged to families already hostile to Hoby.¹⁷

Sir Thomas had no choice but to grant them food, drink and shelter for the night, but they abused his hospitality in the most shameful and provocative ways. Knowing well enough that Hoby had banned both from his home, they played cards and dice incessantly; aware that their host's only diversions were fishing in the river Derwent and playing bowls on his own lawn, their conversation was entirely of horses, dogs, hawks and hunting; and they used the foulest of language and drank until they were drunk. Worse of all, they laughed loudly and stamped their feet during the household's evening prayers. Their behaviour was deliberately outrageous.

The following morning, with his guests still drinking and demanding more wine, Sir Thomas insisted they leave. But young William Eure demanded to see Lady Margaret before they departed. Throughout these rowdy and unpleasant events, she had stayed unseen in her private chamber, but was no doubt hurt and frightened by what had happened in her house. Mr Eure was drunk when he forced his way past house servants and Margaret agreed to receive him as the only way of persuading him and the others to ride away. As they did so they threw stones at the glass windows of the hall, trampled on Sir Thomas's newly laid courtyard, and shouted insults at him. According to Hoby's later testimony in court, they called him 'a scurvy urchen' and a 'spindle-shanked ape' in the presence of his wife and threatened to fire the town and pull down the parish church.¹⁸

Within less than four years in the neighbourhood, Sir Thomas had made himself detested. His own mother had once described him in unflattering terms as 'a diminutive child' who 'remained tiny' and told Lord Burghley of his 'infirmities and insufficiency by want of stature';¹⁹ and Hoby's lack of manly stature had soon made him the object of many cruel jokes. One such insult quoted later in Star Chamber described him as 'the little knight who useth to draw up his breeches with a shooing-horn'.²⁰ After four years of marriage Margaret had shown no sign of pregnancy, a fact which prompted many scandalous and mendacious innuendoes. It was even said that she had taken her private chaplain, Richard Rhodes, as her lover after Hoby had proved himself impotent.

But it was Hoby's persistent, self-important interloping into local affairs that aroused the greatest antagonism. He was perceived as a contemptible, foreign southerner and carpet-bagger, deliberately and offensively planted in the North to spy on his neighbours. At the Star Chamber hearing that followed what became known as the Hackness scandal, hatred of Hoby was expressed forcefully and openly. One witness said that he had come 'over the water with his coch and three horses butt all scante worth sixpence'; and another that he was 'the sauciest little Jack in all the countre, and wold have an oar in everybody's boat'.²¹

No doubt such vicious comments were moved by prejudice and envy, but Hoby's correspondence with his cousin, Sir Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary of state since July 1596, provides plenty of evidence of his ceaseless activity against local recusants and the hospitality they gave to missionary priests. In February 1599 he wrote of 'the backwardness of our northern parts' and in particular of 'one parish' where 'dangerous persons' had 'mightily increased since the death of the late lord president [Huntingdon]'. Without naming it, by 'one parish along the sea coast' Hoby meant Whitby Strand, and by 'sundry creeks fit to receive such persons as come for evil intents', he meant Whitby and Robin Hood's Bay, Cholmley territory.²² And he was not misinformed. In his memoirs, written more than half a century later, Sir Hugh Cholmley had to confess that in his grandfather's, Sir Henry's time, the family home Abbey House was 'a receptackle to the symenary preists coming from beyond seaes and landing frequently in that port [Whitby]' and that the Cholmleys often harboured three or four such Catholic missionaries at any one time.²³ What Sir Hugh failed to report, however, was that the conversion of his grandparents to Protestantism soon afterwards owed not a little to Hoby's persecution of them.

An example of Hoby's arrogance and isolation at this time can be found in another letter to Cecil written at the end of April 1599. Musters of militia were to be taken in the neighbourhood to recruit men for a forthcoming expedition to Ireland and Sir Thomas

insisted that 'none inferior to me in place maybe made my superior in employment'. He then went on to explain that 'the fact' that he was 'a stranger' there made him 'impartial' in his duty.²⁴ What he failed to appreciate was that as a 'stranger' his interference made him unwelcome and suspect.

In these circumstances, the outrage at Hackness Hall in August 1600 has been regarded as a planned conspiracy to burst the Hoby bubble that had become unbearable.²⁵ Michael Wharton, a hostile witness at the subsequent hearing before Star Chamber, claimed that long before August 1600 Sir Christopher Hildyard was heard to say that a party of young Yorkshire gentlemen 'wolled plaie him [Hoby] a tricke err it were longe, and when it was done he sholld not mende himselfe'.²⁶ If this was so then the young Yorkshire gentlemen soon discovered that they had made a grave error.

Hoby's first reaction was to lodge a formal complaint to the Council of the North at York against the perpetrators of 'the riotous assault' made on him in his own home. However, in the absence of his cousin, Thomas, Lord Burghley, the Council was headed by its vice-president, Lord Eure, who as father, brother and cousin of three of the accused could not be trusted by Hoby to give satisfaction.²⁷ Consequently, Sir Thomas redirected his appeal to the Privy Council in London, claiming that the outrage against him had been prompted by 'envy and malice' and that his authority as a magistrate and a commissioner had been attacked. The day of the uninvited visit had coincided with a day when Hoby was to preside over a subsidy commission, but young William Eure had declared that 'he cared not for the commission, he wolld teare it'.²⁸ By November 1600 the case had been referred to the Court of Star Chamber.

Though no record of the Star Chamber verdict has survived, the evidence brought before the court in 1601 provides us with abundant detail of the Hackness household and the bad blood that then existed between Hoby and his neighbours.²⁹ During the hearings Hoby tried to convince Sir Robert Cecil that the Cholmleys were not only untrustworthy recusants and church papists but that they were involved in the recent rebellion against the queen led by the earl of Essex. In a lengthy letter of February 1601, Sir Thomas alleged that the Cholmleys could 'raise 500 men' from among their tenants, that their estate 'lieth in the most dangerous part of Yorkshire for hollow hearts, for popery', and that young Richard had assisted the earl because of 'his father's desperate estate' and his 'backwardness in religion'.³⁰ In fact, Hoby's allegations were exaggerated by spitefulness. Sir Henry and his wife Margaret had recently and openly conformed to the established church and had now moved their home from Whitby to Roxby Castle where their eldest grandson, Hugh, had been born. Second, Richard, Hugh's father, was not an accomplice to Essex's rebellion and escaped with a fine of £200 after brief imprisonment.³¹ The real source of Hoby's grievance was that Sir Henry had confiscated his warrants when he had tried to muster armed men on Cholmley land.³²

Still, the Hobys won their case handsomely in Star Chamber. According to Lady Hoby's triumphant diary entry for 29 May 1602. Lord Eure himself came to Hackness Hall to hand over £100 in compensation for his family's 'riot comitted and unsiuill behaviour' nearly two years earlier.³³ What penalties the other culprits paid are not known, though more than 400 years later Lord Downe of Wykeham Abbey still pays Lord Derwent of Hackness £60 a year for 'the Hackness shame'.³⁴

Nevertheless, Sir Thomas was far from satisfied with this legal victory. Encouraged by his initial success in Star Chamber and his promotion to membership of the Council at York, he now attempted to supplant the Cholmleys as hereditary lords and masters of the former abbey lands in Whitby Strand. Against three successive generations of Cholmleys, led by Sir Henry, Sir Richard and finally Sir Hugh, he pursued a relentless vendetta in the law courts, but in the end failed to extend his authority beyond the boundaries of Hackness. Although the Cholmley estate was being rapidly eroded by inflation, extravagance and mismanagement, their legal entitlement was repeatedly confirmed.

Finally, during the 1630s, Hoby met his match and his comeuppance with Sir Hugh Cholmley, who had been born in the month of the Hackness shame. Whereas Sir Thomas no longer had the Cecils to back him, Cholmley had won the patronage and protection of Thomas Wentworth, the future earl of Strafford, the second most powerful man in the kingdom. Also, the Cholmleys had disowned their old faith and Hoby could no longer pursue them as tainted papists, though he continued to hunt down other 'backward' Yorkshiremen.

Lady Margaret's death in 1633 was a heavy blow to Sir Thomas. Their relationship might never have been passionate, but it was close, cooperative and mutually respectful. Hoby put up a lengthy tribute to his wife on a grand alabaster tablet on the south wall of St Peter's chancel near where she was buried. It said that they had been married 37 years and one month 'to both their extraordinary confortes' and that when Sir Thomas died he hoped that his ashes would be mixed with hers. The hall where they had lived together has long since been replaced, but as early as 1597 they had repaired the parish church chancel which remains virtually unchanged today.³⁵

Hoby spent the year after Margaret's death fulfilling one of her dearest wishes. For a long time she regretted that the people of Harwood Dale had to walk as far as four miles over Silpho Moore to church services and ceremonies at Hackness, and Sir Thomas promised her that he would build a chapel for them in their own hamlet. As a result, 'for the good of the souls and bodyes of the inhabitants', St Margaret's Chapel was finished in an appropriate simple, severe style. Though now abandoned and left a ruin, the chapel on its hilltop site survives as a memorial of Hoby's devotion to his wife. Nearby, visitors might also notice the descendants of Hoby's oak trees which he had brought up from Bisham.

Hoby's abrasive and dictatorial manner was never welcomed in the borough of Scarborough. When elected to represent the corporation in the parliaments of 1597-8 and 1604-10, far from showing any gratitude, he had the audacity to object to the Common Hall's choice of his partner.³⁶ Only when he was senior bailiff during the year 1610-11 did he concede that the borough was well governed. Though he did not sit often among the 44 members of the Common Hall on Sandside, he was quite incapable of allowing the town oligarchy to run its affairs. Given the acute sensitivity of Scarborough's burgesses about their special privileges and powers, the clashes between them and Hoby were numerous and usually ill-tempered.

Hoby insisted on naming preaching ministers for Scarborough's weekly church lectures given at St Thomas the Martyr and invariably got his way.³⁷ To make sure that the boys learned their Bible as well as their Latin, Sir Thomas also took upon himself the responsibility for choosing the town's high school masters.³⁸ Indeed, there is some evidence that along with that other local puritan gentleman, Henry Darley of

Buttercrambe, Hoby guaranteed the survival of Scarborough's grammar school by funding its re-endowment.³⁹ In various forms, the town's high school for boys lasted until 1973.

However, on other matters Hoby was less successful. Though he managed to kill the attempted Thompson takeover of the borough's ruling body in the 1620s, he failed to oust the family from their predominance on Sandside. Also, as justice and deputy-lieutenant in the North Riding, Sir Thomas was unable to exert control over Scarborough's own militia. When the Common Hall appealed to the lord president of the York Council, Wentworth rebuked Hoby for his unwarranted interference. Sir Thomas was told bluntly that Scarborough was 'a place of danger on the sea' and therefore needed to keep its trained band within the borough.⁴⁰

Yet in the end Hoby made a peace offering to Scarborough which has proved to be his most precious and lasting gift. In 1636 he gave the borough a magnificent silver mace to symbolise its privileged authority and his belated recognition of it. None the less, even now, he could not resist pointing out that one of the two bailiffs, Roger Wyvill, had been illegally elected because his residence at Osgodby was outside the borough's boundary. In fact, Hoby's objection to Wyvill had nothing to do with his domicile, the truth was that Roger was a clandestine Catholic who had illegally sent his son William to be educated abroad at a Jesuit college.⁴¹

If historians have neglected Sir Thomas Hoby, his contemporaries often misjudged and unfairly maligned him. His knowledge of the law was incomparable, even though he had had no formal training in it. In the House of Commons and on the magisterial bench he was the acknowledged authority on precedent and procedure. His ceaseless activity was that of a most conscientious public servant, not merely that of an interfering busybody. As a puritan he regarded idleness as a sinful waste of God's time. Rather than accept at face-value the partisan recollections of Sir Hugh Cholmley, it would be fairer to note the verdict of Sir William Brereton of Cheshire, who described Sir Thomas as 'the most understanding, able and industrious justice of the peace in the kingdome'.⁴² Even Wentworth, who was often irritated by Hoby's self importance, had to admit that he 'had good abilities and great experience in those country businesses' and that his principal weakness was an 'addiction to do all and that alone by himself'.⁴³

Hoby was resented and resisted in the 'frozen parts' of Yorkshire, as he called them, because he represented alien Calvinist intrusion in what was still then a mainly Catholic and feudal community. The Protestant Reformation had scarcely reached the further parts of the rural North when Hoby first arrived there. Probably the Eures and the Cholmleys expected Sir Thomas to defend his honour and that of his lady by violent, not legal, action; this is how they would have retaliated if their homes had been violated and they had been publicly insulted. Sir Hugh proudly described how his father had boxed the ears of a gentleman who had taken his theatre seat during an interval but would not fight a sword duel.⁴⁴ Gentlemen were expected to resort to violence if they thought themselves insulted. But puritans did not fight duels, instead they resorted to the law. Not that Hoby was the only puritan gentleman in north-east Yorkshire, but his religious reformism was resisted because it came from a southern outsider who was regarded as a court agent and a foreign interloper.

In the end Hoby quarrelled with all his neighbours, puritan as well as recusant, whenever he believed they lacked his zeal to root out Catholicism in the country.⁴⁵ In this matter he was uncompromising and fearless, repeatedly condemning even Emmanuel, Lord Scrope, when he was lord president between 1619 and 1627, for his failure to enforce anti-Catholic penal laws with the fullest vigour. So outspoken was Hoby in the Commons that he earned himself a royal reprimand.⁴⁶

By the time of Hoby's death in 1640 there were far fewer Catholics and far more Puritans in Yorkshire than there had been 45 years earlier.⁴⁷ The truth is that in 1595 Sir Thomas represented the religious future and the Eures and Cholmleys represented the dwindling, feudal past. By 1640 there were many more households in the county like that of Hackness Hall. Even Sir Hugh Cholmley then had a domestic chaplain 'who said prayers every morneing at six, and againe before dinner and supper'.⁴⁸ Lord Clarendon once disparaged Yorkshire gentlemen who did not know or care much about anything but horses and dogs, and though this was not generally true it did apply to the young hooligans who invaded the Hoby home in August 1600.⁴⁹

Hoby's reputation suffered from his egotism. It has been suggested that the Star Chamber case heard in London in 1601 came to the attention of William Shakespeare and that he modelled his smug, pompous Malvolio in *Twelfth Night* on Sir Thomas who was then the talk of the town. However, whatever Hoby's behaviour towards others, his regard for Lady Margaret seems to have been genuinely heartfelt. His grief after her death was real enough. In his will he asked to be buried, not with his own family at Bisham, but next to 'the dust of my most dear and only wife' and suitably 'neither with superfluous cost, nor in over publique sort'. To the day he died, after 'a fit of cold palsy', he wore a chain bracelet of gold on his arm to which was fastened a picture of Margaret. To his young heir, John Sydenham, he left another picture of Margaret 'set in a box of ivory or elephant's tooth, with a piece of crystal to keep it from the dust', hoping that he would treasure it as a memorial of the lady to whom he owed his affection and his education.⁵⁰ Yet even here in his last will Sir Thomas could not resist emphasizing that though Margaret had three husbands he had only one wife. He was incorrigible.

References

- ¹ B[ritish] L[ibrary] MS Egerton 2614.
- ² D. M. Meads (ed.), *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605* (1930) [hereafter Meads].
- ³ J. Moody (ed.), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady* (Stroud, 1998) [hereafter Moody].
- ⁴ D[ictionary of] N[ational] B[iography], *Missing Persons* (Oxford, 1993), p. 318.
- ⁵ O[xford] D[ictionary of] N[ational] B[iography] (Oxford, 2004).
- ⁶ Both T. Hinderwell, *History of Scarborough* (1832), p. 186, and J. B. Baker, *History of Scarbrough* (1882), p. 245, stated that Hoby was elected for Scarborough in 1614, but they were mistaken.
- ⁷ P. W. Hasler (ed.), *The House of Commons 1558-1603*, ii (1981), pp. 323-4 [hereafter Hasler].
- ⁸ C. Cross, *The Puritan Earl* (1966), pp. 24, 56-8.
- ⁹ Meads, p. 9.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ Ibid, p. 11.
- ¹² Ibid, p. 28.
- ¹³ Ibid, p. 30.
- ¹⁴ H[istorical] M[anuscripts] C[ommission], *De Lisle & Dudley*, ii, 165.
- ¹⁵ Meads, p. 32.
- ¹⁶ Hasler, ii, 323-4.
- ¹⁷ The Hackness scandal was fully reported in the judicial case investigated by the Court of Star Chamber. The principal sources there are N[ational] A[rchives], P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice], Sta[r] C[hamber].

- 5/H16/2, H22/21, H50/4. Correspondence about it is in HMC, *Salisbury*, X, 302, 303, 325, 391; XI, 11-12, 456, 546; XII, 32.
- ¹⁸ HMC, *Salisbury*, XI, 546.
- ¹⁹ F. Heal, Reputation and Honour in Court and Country: Lady Elizabeth Russell and Sir Thomas Hoby, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, vi (1996), p. 172.
- ²⁰ NA, StaC, 5/H16/2; H22/21; H50/4.
- ²¹ NA, StaC, 5/H22/21, evidence of Michael Wharton.
- ²² HMC, *Salisbury*, IX, 68.
- ²³ Y[ork] M[inster] L[ibrary], Add. MS 343, fol.5r.
- ²⁴ HMC, *Salisbury*, IX, 149.
- ²⁵ See the discussion of this matter in the paper cited above in reference 19, particularly pp. 169-74.
- ²⁶ NA, StaC, 5/H22/21.
- ²⁷ HMC, *Salisbury*, X, 303.
- ²⁸ Ibid, 303, 325; NA, StaC, 5/H16/2; H22/21.
- ²⁹ See also HMC, *Salisbury*, X, 302, 325, 391; XI, 11-12, 456, 546; XII, 32, 105.
- ³⁰ HMC, *Salisbury*, XI, 39.
- ³¹ Ibid, 214; *Acts of the Privy Council 1600-01*, 160, 261, 488.
- ³² HMC, *Salisbury*, XI, 39.
- ³³ Meads, pp. 197-8.
- ³⁴ I owe this information to the late Ivan Brett, once Wykeham's estate manager.
- ³⁵ Tablet on the south wall of the chancel in St. Peter's church, Hackness.
- ³⁶ Hasler, iii, 13, 265, N[orth] Y[orkshire] C[ounty] R[ecord] O[ffice], DC/SCB, General letters, B1, 8 Oct 1597.
- ³⁷ M. Y. Ashcroft (ed.), *Scarborough Records, 1600-1640* (1991), p. 56 [hereafter Ashcroft].
- ³⁸ Ashcroft, p. 69.
- ³⁹ NYCRO, DC/SCB, K8, MIC 1320, undated letter.
- ⁴⁰ Ashcroft, pp. 202-3, 205, 232, 233.
- ⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 290, 291, 292, 293.
- ⁴² *The Journal of Sir William Brereton*, Surtees Society, CXXIV (1914), p. 6.
- ⁴³ W. Knowler (ed.), *The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1739, 1740), ii, p. 108.
- ⁴⁴ YML, Add. MS 343, fol. 6v.
- ⁴⁵ NA, StaC 8/175/4; G. C. F. Forster, *The East Riding Justices of the Peace in the Seventeenth Century*, East Yorkshire Local History Society (1973), p. 22.
- ⁴⁶ J. T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry* (1969), pp. 200, 285-6.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid, pp. 186-9, 262.
- ⁴⁸ YML, Add. MS 343, fol. 23r.
- ⁴⁹ Clarendon, E., earl of, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. W. D. Macray, 6 vols (Oxford, 1888), i, p. 393.
- ⁵⁰ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XVII (1903), pp. 83-4.

Life as a Provincial Publisher in the Early Nineteenth Century: John Cole and the Scarborough Room

By GILL BUCKLE

Introduction

John Cole (1792–1848) lived at 74 Newborough Street, Scarborough from May 1821 until October 1832. His ‘diaries’ and other source material provide an insight into many aspects of his life, including his roles as bibliophile, bookseller, librarian, printer and publisher.¹

In this article I am specifically focusing on those publications of Cole’s which are held in the Scarborough Room (at the Library and Information Centre, Vernon Road) and using them to place John Cole the publisher within both a local and a national context.

John Cole and the Scarborough Room

In total Cole published over 100 small books on topographical and antiquarian subjects.² The Scarborough Room has 36 of these titles, with multiple copies of several. The Appendix to this article lists all 36 publications.

Using Cole’s diaries and other sources, I have compiled and lodged in the Scarborough Room a database, with appendices relating to all 36 publications. Readers are recommended to consult this document for more detailed information relating to each title (including numbers and types of copies produced, price at publication, details of content pertaining to the Scarborough area, and other relevant information).

The 36 titles in the Scarborough Room can be divided into three categories: books for sale published by subscription; books for sale without a subscription list; and books for private circulation. In the current article I will look at each category in general relationship to the Scarborough Room titles, and also use, as exemplary material, information relating to specific titles.

Books for Sale Published by Subscription

Robinson and Wallis have identified nearly 6000 books with subscription lists, published in Britain between 1617 and 1980³. Of these, only eight titles (including four by Cole) were published in Scarborough.⁴ An average 30 books a year were published nationally by subscription during the period Cole was in Scarborough.

A promise to print the list of subscribers is a recurring feature of proposals from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century and most subscribers were keen to see their names in print. There was also the social cachet of being listed with more noble supporters. After the first quarter of the eighteenth century there were many volumes of poetry and sermons, and titles starting with 'The History and Antiquities of ...' published by subscription.⁵

Once authors had produced proposals, they then had to 'hawk their wares' among the affluent and influential. Booksellers and authors' friends also worked to attract subscribers. A high proportion of subscription publications included the list of subscribers, and occasionally indicated how many copies an individual patron had ordered.⁶ According to Brewer and McCalman, 'The object of subscription was to secure down-payments on – and promises to purchase – a book before its publication. This ensured that its production and distribution costs were covered before a work went to press.'⁷

Four of the Scarborough Room titles include lists of subscribers, and for three others there were proposals for publication by subscription, but no subscription lists in the published volumes.⁸

I will now look at *The History and Antiquities of Filey* (hereinafter referred to as *HAF*), one of the four titles with subscription lists, in more detail.

The History and Antiquities of Filey

The archives of the Osbaldeston and Mitford families of Hunmanby contain one of the proposal sheets⁹ for the publication of *HAF*, which Cole issued and distributed in 1828.

Proposals

For publishing by subscription, in demy 8vo., price 3s.

An

Historical and Descriptive

Account

Parish of Filey,

in the County of York.

By John Cole.

No exertions have been hitherto made to collect the scattered fragments which are in existence relative to the *Ancient History* of that improving place, FILEY, and to describe its *Modern State*: an attempt to supply this deficiency in parochial history is the object of the proposed publication: in the prosecution of which task, the publisher hopes to receive such encouragement in subscriptions as may enable him to produce a work fully illustrative of the village under consideration, and if they prove adequate to the expense, it is intended to embellish the work with plates.

Subscribers' names will be received by

John Cole, Bookseller Scarborough; by Isaac Wilson Hull; J. and G. Todd, and Bellerby, York; Furby and Co., and Forth, Bridlington; Scaum, Beverley; R. Rogers, and R. Kirby, Whitby; Smithson, and Barnaby, Malton, and other Booksellers.¹⁰

Cole's diary for 1828 provides interesting background information about producing *HAF*, and obtaining subscribers to the volume.

During this Spring was busily employed in arranging my materials for a history of Filey, in the neighbourhood of Scarborough, with which we went to press in March.¹¹

Re visit in June 1828 to Filey, via Lebberston and Gristhorpe:

We drank tea and afterward walked calmly and peacefully home, enrapt with the joys of nature. During our route procured many subscribers to the History of Filey, we thus blended the useful with the sweet.¹²

During the Spring of this year, I employed Mr Baynes, Jun to make drawings of Filey Bay and Church, the engravings for which costing me 5 guineas each, were done by Mr CJ Smith.¹³

The engraving of Filey Bay, done by Mr CJ Smith of London, cost me 5 guineas, and the writing to ditto 7/-. Filey Church cost me the same.¹⁴

Cole dedicated *HAF* to Shafto Craster.

In this month *July 1823* a most benevolent gentleman visited Scarborough, and became a very liberal purchaser of Books from my stock and to a considerable amount; besides ordering others, and directing many to be bound. His name, Shafto Craster, Esq, of Craster near Alnwick, Northumberland. I have ever since found this gentleman – 'this high-minded English gentleman' – alike liberal and kind in a perfectly unusual degree, evinced by his generous orders and presents and by his good wishes ... And not only to myself have I found him charitable and liberal, but on applying for persons in distress, his beneficence has been equally displayed. And I pray that he may ultimately experience the full reward of his well-doings.¹⁵

There are 141 subscribers listed in *HAF*, of whom 136 bought single copies, two bought two copies and three bought three copies each (a total of 149 copies for subscribers). It is likely that copies additional to this number were printed.¹⁶

Of these subscribers, 75 are titled as 'Mr', 35 as 'Esq', 18 as 'Rev', 10 as 'Miss' or 'Mrs', two as 'Colonel' and one as 'Lieutenant.' 51 of the subscribers are from Scarborough, 24 from Filey and surrounding villages covered in *HAF*, 37 from other parts of the East Riding, North Riding and York, and 29 from further afield (including 12 subscribers from London). At least eight of the subscribers are booksellers. Of the 18 people acknowledged by Cole in his preface (dated August 4th, 1828), 16 are listed among the subscribers.

The subjects covered by the 160-page volume include the history of Filey up to the 'present day' (thus covering the 1797 sea battle with John Paul Jones); more general guide book information such as coaches and inns; natural history of the area; aspects of

the sea including fishing, shipwrecks and the Filey lifeboat; 'Ancient Popular Customs and Amusements', and information about surrounding villages including Gristhorp, Lebberston and Hunmanby. Sources and contributors are referenced and acknowledged by Cole.

A further section that Cole had intended to include in *HAF* was lost by accident. Re 'losing' the pedigree of the Greene and Bucke family of Filey:

I immediately put it into the Printer's hands, we got it set, and it had undergone a correction or two ...¹⁷ The Pedigree was left standing in my Printing Office, when by some means it was knocked down, and entirely dispersed, being thus irrecoverably lost.¹⁸

Cole had some doubts about the title page:

The engraved title, in imitation of the antique was copied from an old etching in Garrick's Scrapbook, enrolled in Bibhotecha Coleiana, and is well suited for the purpose of a title page, but not altogether harmonising with the fresh modern-looking view of Filey, fronting it; such being the case, some copies have the view of Filey at p1 but then the title appears naked.¹⁹

However he seems to have been pleased with the response to the publication of *HAF*:

I was respectably supported in my list of subscribers to the work, and it continues to sell better than any of my topographical productions. The selling price is 4s. There are a dozen copies on green tinted paper.²⁰

Other local authors also published books by subscription. Thomas Hinderwell's *History and Antiquities of Scarborough* (printer William Blanchard, York, 1798) lists 257 different subscribers. Octavia Stopford, a Scarborough resident, published by subscription in 1826, *Sketches in Verse and other Poems* (publisher Isaac Wilson, Hull). Unusually, more than half of those included in her 'List of Subscribers' are female (97 out of 186 subscribers). John Telbin's play *The Siege of Scarborough Castle in 1645, A Drama in Two Acts* (publisher Todd, Scarborough, 1827) lists 133 subscribers.

Books for Sale without a Subscription List

Although there is information available concerning other members of the provincial book trade who operated in the same period as Cole²¹ (for example, there are records of 58 imprints, many of them pamphlets and books, by Robert Deck, Ipswich bookseller, stationer and printer between 1817 and 1850)²², it has proved difficult to find any detailed information, including prices and print runs, for books published provincially not by subscription. Even if access to a particular printer/publisher's daybook were possible, there could be inaccuracies, for example a first edition might be followed by a fourth edition as a pretence to show how popular a book was, in order to encourage further sales.

Detailed information regarding the prices of Cole's Scarborough Room titles is provided in the database in the Scarborough Room. The 'asking price' varied between 6d and 12s

6d, with the majority being priced between 2s 6d and 5s. The price for a title also depended on the size and type of paper etc. Re *The Scarborough Album of History and Poetry*: 'The price of the small paper was 5/-. Of the Large Paper 12/-.'²³

The prices of Cole's volumes need to be seen within the national context of wages and cost of living, and of other book prices. In the 1830s, a handloom weaver earned around £13 a year. A family was thought 'respectable' if it had an annual income of around £125. Five shillings would buy 10 pounds of meat. Seven shillings would provide a family of five with good table beer for a month.²⁴

At the time when Cole moved to Scarborough in 1821, the usual price of duodecimo volumes had risen to five–six shillings, octavo books were 12–14 shillings and quarto books two guineas. These increased prices were due to high costs of material and labour, the increased use of circulating libraries (limiting the number of direct sales to readers) and producing titles for 'vanity' purchasing by those newly rich as a result of the Napoleonic wars.

The popularity of Walter Scott's publications at an even higher price (for example, *Kenilworth* was published in 1821 at 31s 6d) led to a further general increase in book prices. In 1840 51 out of 58 new novels were on sale at 31s 6d.²⁵ There were some attempts in the 1820s to publish more cheaply, for example Whittingham's Cabinet Library, pocket-sized volumes priced 2s–4s 6d, but these met fierce opposition from bigger firms and most country booksellers.²⁶ However, by the time Cole left Scarborough in 1832, there had been an explosion in issuing non-fiction volumes and novel reprints at around 5s.²⁷

Although it has not been possible to ascertain the numbers of copies printed for all of the Scarborough Room publications, what information is available is provided in the database in the Scarborough Room. For several titles, print runs were 150 copies or above. The smallest print run was 12 copies for *The Casket of Poesy*.

Some titles were issued using a variety of sizes, types and colours of paper. Re *The Scarborough Album of History and Poetry*:

The impression was not, however, large. Besides the common size, f.cap 8vo, we printed 25 on Large Paper, vis Crimped Demy, with proofs of the plates; and 2 on Pink Satin, and 2 on White.²⁸

In the early nineteenth century the average edition of a serious book was around 750 copies (Scott's novels were exceptional with 6000 copies of an edition). Throughout the nineteenth century the ordinary circulating library novel usually had an edition of less than 1000–1250 copies.²⁹

A lot of planning and thought went into the decisions Cole made regarding the content and style of each production. Looking at *The Scarborough Repository* (hereinafter referred to as *SR*) in more detail will illustrate this.

The Scarborough Repository

SR was planned and published in 1824. On 10 March 'Projected a periodical for the approaching season, entitled "The Scarborough Repository" and commenced the first sheet this day.'³⁰

On 1 April 'Print off first sheet of the second No of "The Scarborough Repository" ready for the approaching season.'³¹

On 23 April, having just travelled to Northampton: 'Wet - write [sic] down a few notes of the occurrences in this Journey to Northampton. These I printed in "The Scarborough Repository".'³²

In May 'I am now preparing for the approaching Season. At press we struck off the first sheets of the several numbers of "The Scarborough Repository" in order to expedite the publication of the respective Numbers during the season.'³³

'On July 20th I published the first number of the first Scarborough Magazine, entitled "The Scarborough Repository and Mirror of the Season", myself acting as Proprietor, Editor and Publisher ...'³⁴ 'The volume is dedicated to a long train of Worthies, several of which are now (1831) no more!'³⁵

Seven more numbers, published weekly, followed the July 20th number. Individual numbers have survived, as have also complete volumes of all eight numbers (bound together at the time and issued as 'Volume 1'). The Scarborough Room has some of the individual numbers plus five copies of the complete 1824 'Volume 1', including Cole's own copy. This has the original manuscripts of articles and letters bound with it.

It is not clear how many copies in total of SR were published by Cole. However it is fair to assume that, as with other publications by Cole, the surviving copies form only a small proportion of the original print run.³⁶

SR covered many topics, including 'Biographical, Historical, and Topographical Subjects, Essays, Provincial Intelligence, Lists of Arrivals, Reviews of Books, Poetry, Anecdotes and Other Miscellaneous Matter'.³⁷

Within each 18-page number only some of the articles relate to Scarborough. For example, No 3 contains details of the paintings on display at 'Mr Baynes' Exhibition of Pictures, Newborough Street' and an anecdote regarding Dicky Dickinson (Governor of Scarborough Spa c1736). It also has current news information including proposals for a 'New Church' in Scarborough, the week's sermon at St Mary's and 'Arrivals' for the week. Each number also has letters to the editor.

Even though SR was only published for one season, Cole deserves credit for preparing and publishing 'the first Scarborough Magazine'. Not only would it have enhanced the 1824 season for visitors and for local people, but it also provides us with an insight into life in Scarborough in 1824.

Books for private circulation

John Martin in the preface to *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Books Privately Printed* (1834)³⁸ defines privately printed books as 'such only, as were not intended by the writers for sale, and the circulation of which, has been confined entirely to their friends and connexions, or to those who took an interest in the matter contained in them'. This book (of which 250 copies were printed originally) provides more than 500 pages of details of 1000 titles published privately.

Martin includes nine titles published by Cole, four of which are held in the Scarborough Room.³⁹

Cole himself imprints *A Pleasant and Profitable Journey to London performed and described by John Cole* and *An Account of the Proceedings at the Commemoration in honour of Hervey* as 'For private distribution' (each with 50 copies) and *A Month's Excursion* as 'A limited impression. Not for Sale'. However he provides few details in his diaries regarding these private publications.

There is evidence that Cole used publications both as donations to friends/ acquaintances and as an 'exchange' medium. With regard to the contents of Cole's museum, 'They have been obtained at a very trifling expense, as I have been in the habit of exchanging my publications, prints &c and lecture tickets for the several stones'.⁴⁰

Letter from James Bye regarding wanting somewhere to exchange 'about 100 of the History of Scarbro': 'Mr Bean informs me that you had some market in London where you were in the habit of exchanging your publications for other works'.⁴¹

Advertisements and Reviews

There is evidence that several of Cole's books were advertised and reviewed nationally.

The History and Antiquities of Ecton is listed in 'A LIST OF NEW WORKS, AND OF NEW EDITIONS Published in the month of April 1825 And sold by LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN and GREEN, Paternoster Row. This list may be had Gratis of any of Messrs. LONGMAN and Co's Correspondents in Town or country' alongside many other works, including several by well known figures, including Southey and McAdam.

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, 'a monthly digest of news and commentary on any topic the educated public might be interested in',⁴² published reviews of both *The Scarborough Album of History and Poetry* (February 1826) (describing it as 'this elegant little volume')⁴³ and *Historic Sketches of Scalby, Burniston and Cloughton* (August 1829).⁴⁴ Hone's *Table Book* (1827-8), 'a collection of information on manners, antiquities and various other subjects',⁴⁵ contains a review of *The Antiquarian Trio*⁴⁶ and *The Scarborough Souvenir* is reviewed in Ackermann's *Repository*.⁴⁷

Other Scarborough Publishers

In directories for Scarborough from this period Cole is described as a 'bookseller and stationer', rather than as a publisher. Nor are there references in these directories to any other publishers based in Scarborough at this time, although other 'booksellers and stationers' are mentioned.⁴⁸ However there are publications in the Scarborough Room from this period printed in Scarborough.⁴⁹

There are a few references made by Cole to other publishers in his diaries.

In 1827 Cole writes with reference to W. Travis Esq. (the Scarborough physician/surgeon):

He is a capital hand at a pun. I will record an anecdote or two which proceeded from Mr Travis. On congratulating me on the birth of my 3rd Child, he said - 'I have just seen the 3rd Edition of Cole's Works, it is above stairs in sheets, and I hope it will be long before it appears in boards.' Shortly after the birth of my 4th child, Mrs Todd, the Bookseller's Wife, was delivered of a boy, on which occasion, Mr Travis observed 'Your neighbour has just published his little rival volume.'⁵⁰

In 1832, when Cole was planning to leave Scarborough he writes: 'Much engaged in ... preparing for a new edit of 'The Curiosity of Scarborough', the copyright of which I had disposed of to Mr Todd, bookseller.'⁵¹

Some days later he adds:

About this period, disposed of the Copyright of my edit. of 'The Scarborough Guide' agreeing to continue the Editor and carrying the new edition through the press. Accordingly Mr Todd, to whom I sold it, went to press in the early part of the month of April with a new edition, and I became occasionally busy in re-arranging the matter of the old, and collecting fresh information for the new Edition. Mr Todd agreeing to give me 200 copies for the copyright and for editing this Edition.'⁵²

The *Scarborough Weekly Advertiser and List of Arrivals* for August 22 1835 also contains some information about Scarborough publishers. The *Advertiser* is 'Printed and Published by CR Todd, Music and Bookseller &c 73 Newborough'. Todd's advertisement within this issue includes only one book 'New Scarbro' Guide - Price 2s 6d'.

An advertisement placed in the *Advertiser* by 'Mary Bye (widow of the late James Bye)' 'respectfully invites the attention of visitors to' the 'History of Scarborough' 'with a memoir of the author (the late Thomas Hinderwell Esq)' 'Lately published by James Bye, and on sale by all booksellers in Scarborough.'⁵³

Leaving Scarborough

Cole left Scarborough on 30 October 1832 and returned to his native Northamptonshire. However, he retained links with the town. He returned to Scarborough in 1835, 1836 and

1838. On each occasion, in addition to visiting friends, he gave lectures at the Town Hall.⁵⁴

Cole also remained in contact by letter with people in Scarborough. Letters from friends, inserted in his diary, provide information about people and events in Scarborough during this period.

Among them are the following:

Todd the Bookseller & Gill the Auctioneer have been rivals lately. Mr G. printed or rather caused to be printed a list of Arrivals at Scarbro. pub. weekly. Mr Todd immediately followed, so we had two lists. Gill however only got to the 4th Week.⁵⁵

Mr Bye the Bookseller has been for a long time very ill & is yet hardly expected to recover. It is said he has been disappointed in regard of success in his business & would wish to remove to Van Diemens Lands - if he should recover - which is very doubtful. Todd, Theakston & Mrs Ainsworth are going on much as usual. But the person who took your shop is likely soon to leave it - as there is a Board up 'to be Lett or sold'⁵⁶.

Financial Difficulty

On 26 March 1833 Henry Crawford wrote to Cole, 'I am sorry to see that you intend publishing again (as I think publishing never paid you) and hope you will never begin until you have a long list of subscribers.'⁵⁷

The following year Cole encountered financial difficulty with his business and wrote to friends and acquaintances requesting assistance. Among the replies inserted in Cole's diary is one from John Woodall: 'I am very sorry to find you are so unfortunately placed.' Woodall sent a check [sic] for 45/-, which included '5/- of which Mr W Travis desired me to put you in possession'⁵⁸ and another from George Davies detailing who contributed funds:

The following is a list of the benefactions already in hand for your account.

Miss Walker	Rotherham	1.0.0
Miss Richardson	Scarbro'	1.0.0
Mr & Mrs Davies	Scarbro'	2.0.0
Mr Wm Smith	Scarbro'	1.0.0
Mr Robert Tindall & his 2 sisters	Scarbro'	3.0.0
Dr Murray & the Ladies of Belle Vue	Scarbro'	2.0.0
Mr William Bottomley & Miss Bottomley	Scarbro'	1.0.0
Messrs Hesp & Appleby	Scarbro'	2.0.0
Mr Isaac Stickney	Scarbro'	10.0
Mr Jos Jackson	Scarbro'	5.0
Miss R Woodall	Post Office	2.6
		£13.7.6

I have also sent to Theakston who has promised me something during the day.⁵⁹

Conclusion

As stated previously, there is little detailed information available concerning provincial publishers of this time. Cole's diaries have now made it possible to gain an insight into the life of one specific provincial publisher. It is hoped that this article, together with the database and appendices in the Scarborough Room, prove a useful addition to the body of knowledge relating to the book trade in the early nineteenth century.

It may be that Hotten's description of Cole as the 'eccentric bookseller of Scarborough' has coloured the current general perception of him.⁶⁰ By providing detailed background information regarding Cole and his approach to publishing, and the context within which he was publishing, this article has aimed to portray Cole more as a 'man of his times' than has been generally recognised. Continuing research into other aspects of his life will further place John Cole within a local and national context.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Bryan Berryman (Scarborough) and Peter Young (York) for their help and encouragement with this research.

Appendix: John Cole Publications in the Scarborough Room

A Catalogue of Old Books with Specimens, now on sale at John Cole, Lincoln, 1817

Histrionic Topography, 1818

Graphic and Historical Sketches of Scarborough, 1822

Herveiana, 1822/1823

A Biographical Sketch of the Late Robert North Esq, the founder of the Amicable Society of Scarborough, 1823

Picture of Scarborough for the Year 1823 (also 1824)

A Bibliographical and Descriptive Tour from Scarborough to the Library of a Philobiblist in its Neighbourhood, 1824

Portfolio, 1824

The Scarborough Repository and Mirror of the Season, 1824

Cole's Scarborough Guide, 1825 (also 1829)

A Descriptive Catalogue of a Select Portion of the Stock of John Cole, Bookseller, Scarborough, 1825

The History and Antiquities of Ecton, 1825

The Scarborough Album of History and Poetry, 1825

The Fugitive Pieces of Thomas Hinderwell, 1826

Memoirs of the Life, Writing and Character of the late Thomas Hinderwell Esq, 1826

A Tour Round Scarborough, Historically and Bibliographically Unfolded, 1826

The Antiquarian Trio, 1826

The Casket of Poesy, 1827

The Curiosities of Scarborough Described in Rhyme, 1827

Dialogues in the Shades Respecting the Cliff Bridge, Scarborough, 1827

The Histories and Antiquities of Weston Favell, 1827

The Scarborough Souvenir, 1827

A Tribute to the Memory of the late Mr William Abbott, 1827

The History and Antiquities of Filey, 1828

A Pleasant and Profitable Journey to London Performed and Described by John Cole, 1828

The Scarborough Collector and Journal of the Olden Time, 1828
The Antiquarian Bijou, 1829
The Antiquarian Casket, 1829
Historical Sketches of Scalby, Burniston and Cloughton, 1829
A Month's Excursion Ventured to be Described for the Information of his Friends, 1829
Original Letters of the Rev James Hervey, 1829
The Scarborough Natural Historians, 1829
A Biographical Account of the late Rev Samuel Bottomley, 1831
Scarborough Guide, 1832
An Account of the Proceedings at the Commemoration in Honour of Hervey, 1833
Reminiscences Tributary to the Memory of Thomas Allen, 1833

References

- ¹ John Cole kept diaries throughout his life. He later (starting 1829) revised these diaries to produce 18 handwritten volumes entitled *An Account of the life of JOHN COLE of Scarborough, including brief Notices of his Family, Friends, Associates, and the Literary Contemporaries, with whom he has in any manner entered into connexion*. These 18 volumes and one volume of his original diary are located in York Minster Archives (Add Mss 153).
- ² H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
- ³ F. G. J. Robinson and P. J. Wallis, *Book Subscription Lists. A Revised Guide* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1975).
- ⁴ *The Siege of Scarborough Castle in 1645* by John Telbin (1827) 'printed for the author by C Todd' is the only other book published with a subscription list in Scarborough during Cole's time there.
- ⁵ Robinson and Wallis.
- ⁶ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (Chicago, 1997), p. 164ff.
- ⁷ John Brewer and Iain McCalman in I. McCalman, ed., *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age – British Culture 1776-1832* (Oxford, 1999).
- ⁸ For *A Bibliographical and descriptive tour from Scarborough to the library of a philobiblist in its neighbourhood, The history and antiquities of Ecton and The Antiquarian Trio* there were proposals for publication by subscription, but no subscription lists in the published volumes.
- ⁹ Size of proposal sheet – 9 in by 7 3/8 in – cut LHS only.
- ¹⁰ Archives of Osbaldeston and Mitford families of Hunmanby c1828 DDHU 3/7 Beverley Treasure House.
- ¹¹ Cole, *Add Mss 153*, vol. 5 p. 33.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 39.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 40. For Matthew Baynes (1793-1866) see Anne and Paul Bayliss, *Scarborough Artists of the Nineteenth Century* (Scarborough, 1997) Charles John Smith (1803-1838), engraver, elected Fellow of Society of Antiquaries 1837, obituary in *Gentleman's Magazine* 1839 p. 1.
- ¹⁴ Cole, *Add Mss 153*, vol. 15, p. 48.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 376-7 Shafto Craster (1755-1837), High Sheriff of Northumberland, 1803.
- ¹⁶ Out of more than 250 copies printed of *Graphic and Historical Sketches of Scarborough* 92 were for subscribers, 203 of 250 copies printed of *Memoir of the Life, Writings and character of the late Thomas Hinderwell Esq.* were for subscribers, and 387 copies of *Herveiana or graphic and literary sketches* were printed for subscribers.
- ¹⁷ Cole, *Add Mss 153*, vol. 5, p. 45.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 46.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 44.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.* The proposal gives a price of 3/- not 4/-.
- ²¹ John Feather, *The English Provincial Book Trade before 1850* (Oxford, 1981).
- ²² Tony Copsey, *Book Distribution and Printing in Suffolk 1534-1850* (Ipswich, 1994).
- ²³ Cole, *Add Mss 153*, vol. 4, p. 501.
- ²⁴ Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago, 1957), p. 276.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-3.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 266-7.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-4.
- ²⁸ Cole, *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 501.

- ²⁹ Altick, p. 263.
- ³⁰ Cole, *Add Mss 153*, vol. 3, pp. 432-3, 10 March 1824.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 441, 1 April 1824.
- ³² *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 447, 23 April 1824.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 451, May.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 453.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 455.
- ³⁶ William Boyne refers in *The Yorkshire Library* (London 1869) to only eight copies being published. However, there are more than eight extant copies of Volume 1. Boyne may have been referring to the eight numbers forming Volume 1.
- ³⁷ Title page, *Scarborough Repository*, Volume 1.
- ³⁸ John Martin, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of books privately printed* (London, 1834).
- ³⁹ *A Descriptive Catalogue of a select portion of the Stock of John Cole; A tour round Scarborough, historically and bibliographically unfolded, A Pleasant and Profitable Journey to London performed and described by John Cole, and An Account of the Proceedings at the Commemoration in honour of Hervey*
- ⁴⁰ Cole, *Add Mss 153*, vol. 6, pp. 157-8, January 1832.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, between pp. 182-3, letter from James Bye 5 November 1833.
- ⁴² Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gentleman%27s_Magazine (accessed 12 April 2008)
- ⁴³ Cole, *Add Mss 153*, vol. 4, pp. 518-9, printed review stuck into diary.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 105-6.
- ⁴⁵ Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Hone (accessed 12 April 2008)
- ⁴⁶ Cole, *Add Mss 153*, vol. 15, between pp. 12-3, printed review inserted.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 2.
- ⁴⁸ By the end of the eighteenth century, the title of 'stationer', meaning a publisher/ bookseller who belonged to the ancient chartered corporation of the Stationers' Company, was gradually being supplanted by 'publisher'.
- ⁴⁹ Publications include: Robert Addison, *Poetry on the year's revolution, solar system and some other subjects* (printed J. Ainsworth, 1824); Charles Dawson, *Original Poetry on Various Subjects* (printed C. Todd, Market Place, 1822), and Francis Wrangham, *Scarboro Castle - A Poem* (Sedman and Weddill, 1823).
- ⁵⁰ Cole, *Add Mss 153*, vol. 4, pp. 585-6, 6 January 1827.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 179, 20 March 1832.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 186, April 1832.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, between pp. 60-1.
- ⁵⁴ Lecture topics included *The History of Anecdote*, *Ancient Classical History* and *Ornithological Lecture*.
- ⁵⁵ Cole, *Add Mss*, vol. 7, between pp. 165-6, letter from Henry Crawford 16 July 1833.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 9, between pp. 42-3, letter from George Davies 12 June 1834.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 7, inserted at back of volume, letter from Henry Crawford 26 March 1833.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 9, between pp. 32-3, letter from John Woodall 26 June 1834.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 9, between pp. 44-5, letter from George Davies 24 June 1834.
- ⁶⁰ John Camden Hotten, *Bibliographical account of nearly fifteen hundred curious and rare books, tracts, MSS. and engravings relating to the history and topography of Yorkshire* (place and date of publication unknown).

The Roman Catholic Church in Scarborough in the Nineteenth Century

with a Biographical Appendix of Ministers 1835 to 1913

By ANNE and PAUL BAYLISS

In the course of the nineteenth century Scarborough's resident population grew some six-fold. During the summer season a further major increase in population took place. Both of these factors had a considerable effect on many aspects of town life, not least the provision of spiritual needs. At the beginning of the century there were only two or three Roman Catholic families in the town. However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, increasing numbers of resident Catholics and of seasonal visitors put such pressure on the sole Catholic church in Scarborough that a new chapel of ease was needed. This was opened in June 1914 while still unfinished because of the very large numbers of visitors that year. This article charts the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Scarborough during the nineteenth century and the contribution that its various ministers made.

It is interesting to note that the two longest serving priests of this period – John Walker, who was here for 38 years and James Dolan, who was here for 32 years – came to Scarborough after a period of ill-health, presumably sent by their bishop because of the town's healthy image but still made major contributions to the growth of their church¹

At the beginning of the 1800s there were fewer than 30 Roman Catholics living in Scarborough, comprising two or three families.² This number had changed little from 1743 when three Catholic families had been identified in the town.³ At the end of the eighteenth century some French émigré priests, including Père Tourouche, were held in Scarborough Castle. However, it seems that they held mass in the castle barracks and had no influence on the town's resident Catholics.⁴ Catholic families and their servants spending the season in Scarborough held their own services in lodging houses conducted by their own chaplains.⁵

Scarborough's resident Catholics first met for services in a house in Apple Market (today King Street)⁶ but by 1798 they had moved to a house in Westgate.⁷

Rev. William Coghlan and the first Catholic Chapel (1809)

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Scarborough Catholics bought premises in Aulborough from Rev. Cornelius Burgh and erected a permanent chapel on the site. The chapel was opened in 1809 by Rev. William Coghlan, described at the time as 'their minister'.⁸ However, other, Catholic, sources suggest that Coghlan had left Scarborough in 1806 to go to Burscough Hall in Lancashire.⁹ It was later said that Coghlan himself had financed the new building.¹⁰

Roman Catholic priests in Scarborough prior to 1835: Fathers Coghlan, Haydock, Woodcock, Lyons and Burke

It is not clear when Scarborough had its first resident Roman Catholic Priest. As noted above, Rev. William Coghlan was described 1809 as 'their minister' although this does not necessarily indicate that he was resident in Scarborough. For some years there was no permanent priest and the Town was served by visiting clergy. For example, in 1815 Fr. Woodcock of Egton Bridge and Fr. George Leo Haydock of Ugthorpe visited the town, alternatively, every six weeks to celebrate mass.¹¹ Father Haydock was responsible for *Haydock's Bible*, a popular edition of the Catholic Family Bible. When these ministers were not in attendance, two members of the congregation, Mr. Ullathorne and Mr. Peckston (or Pexton), officiated by reading from a standard collection of prayers and sermons.¹²

In 1828, Fr. Lyons took up residence in Scarborough,¹³ and in an 1831 directory the Catholic priest is listed as Rev. Jas. Leyne, living in Merchant's Row, presumably this was Lyons.¹⁴ By 1832 Scarborough's Catholic priest was Rev. Edmund Burke.¹⁵

The Very Reverend Canon John Walker, Missionary Rector in Scarborough 1835–1873 (see also Appendix)

In 1835, Rev. John Walker was appointed priest to the Roman Catholics of Scarborough. Walker had been ordained at St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, near Durham, in 1826 and was appointed an assistant priest in Liverpool. However, after about three years there he became ill and returned to Ushaw. After his recovery he was appointed to Scarborough, the choice possibly being related to the town's healthy image. References differ on whom Rev. Walker replaced; his obituaries in June 1873 recorded that he replaced Rev. Lyons and this is repeated in Rowntree.¹⁶ However, Rushton states that he replaced Father Burke, which is somewhat more consistent with Burke's listing in the 1832 directory and in the third edition of *Hinderwell* of that year.¹⁷

One of Rev. Walker's first acts was to improve the 1809 chapel. In 1839, an artist, Henry Taylor Bulmer, of Newman Street, London, was appointed to oversee interior improvements and to decorate the chapel with some of his paintings. The 1809 chapel was said to be capable of holding 400 worshippers although, in 1832, it was noted that it had only 80 members.¹⁸ When Bulmer's 1839 improvements were described in a town guide, it was reported that he had achieved an elegance and solemnity that was '... much more difficult in so small a chapel...'.¹⁹ Bulmer provided a painting of the Annunciation and a painting of St Augustine. In the centre of the ceiling Bulmer painted a 13 foot diameter picture of the Assumption. Advertising in the local newspaper in October 1839, Bulmer described himself as a portrait painter, presumably in the hope of gaining some private commissions. His advert announced that he expected leave the town shortly, and that he had moved his Scarborough lodgings from Broomhead's the Chemist to 11, Long Room Street.²⁰

Roman Catholic Chapel, Auborough Street, Scarborough, 1809–1858



Figure 1: Details of the interior of the Roman Catholic Chapel, Auborough Street, from the 1852 Ordnance Survey map.

The Growth of Scarborough's Catholic Congregation: St Peter's Church (1858)

During Rev. Walker's ministry in Scarborough the number of Roman Catholics in the town grew steadily. In the period 1843–1844 Walker had presided at 23 baptisms, and in 1845 he estimated that his congregation numbered some 200.²¹ There was also a seasonal growth in his congregation caused by the summer visitors, a challenge faced by every denomination in Scarborough in the nineteenth century, particularly after the arrival of the railway 7 July 1845.

By 1846, Rev. Walker was considering having a new church built. In that year he wrote to the great Victorian architect and pioneer of the Gothic Revival, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–1852), to discuss plans for a new building in Scarborough. Pugin had recently completed a seven-year (1836–1843) project, drawing up designs for the Houses of Parliament for Sir Charles Barry (1795–1860). Pugin had also designed several Catholic churches, including the Cathedral of St George at Southwark and in 1841 he had written *The Principles of Christian Architecture*. Pugin replied to Walker that he was willing to come to Scarborough to talk about a new church but, due to poor health, he could not come just then. However, his health continued to deteriorate and he died in 1852, not having visited the town.²²

The architects' firm finally chosen to design a new Roman Catholic Church in Scarborough was Messrs Weightman, Hadfield and Goldie of Sheffield. It was York-born George Goldie (1828–1887) who was actually responsible for the project. Like Walker, Goldie had been educated at St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw. Goldie was articled to the architects Weightman and Hadfield from 1845 and became a partner in the firm in 1850.²³ By the time Rev. Walker made contact with Goldie the latter was already making a name for designing Roman Catholic churches including, in Yorkshire, St Patrick's, Westgate, Bradford (1853) and St Anne's at Ughorpe (1855–57).²⁴

The foundation stone for the new church in Scarborough was laid on 5 October 1856 by the Most Rev. George Errington (1804–1886), at that time second in command (coadjutor) to Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster.²⁵ After the stone-laying ceremony, a plate was put on top of the stone to collect donations towards the building. It was reported that ‘... a very handsome sum was raised ...’. Donations had already come from various quarters, including one of five guineas from Empress Eugenie, wife of Napoleon III.²⁶



Figure 2: Blind apse of St Peter's Church. Photograph by the authors.

The church, which was built on land adjacent to the 1809 chapel, was described by Matthew Hadfield, Goldie's partner, as ‘... geometric decorated, which permits great solidity combined with quaintness...’ The builder was Mr. Falkenbridge of Whitby and the clerk of works was Thomas Maskell.²⁷ Although Walker appears to have suggested Norman architecture for St Peter's, Goldie's design was strictly in the Gothic Revival style.²⁸ The church was built with a nave, an apsidal chancel and lateral aisles with related chapels. The total length of the church was 115 feet and the greatest width was 53 feet. An unusual feature of the building is the windowless polygonal apse behind the altar. This was necessary to avoid excessive light flooding into the church which was built with a north-south orientation because of the constraints of the site. It is said that St Peter's was the first church in the country with this design.²⁹ As originally designed, the church was to have had a tower surmounted by a spire, but this was never built. In 1859, George Goldie exhibited his design at the Royal Academy of Arts in London (exhibit 1130).³⁰

Less than two years after the foundation stone was laid, the church, although not completely finished, was opened with great ceremony on 28 July 1858. Reverend Walker's close friend, Cardinal Nicholas Patrick Wiseman, the Archbishop of Westminster, performed the opening with three bishops in attendance: the Right Rev. Dr John Briggs (1788-1861), Bishop of Beverley; the Right Rev. Dr William Joseph Hugh Clifford, Bishop of Clifton; and the Right Rev. Dr William Bernard Ullathorne, Bishop of Birmingham. Although the opening ceremony included a high mass and a sermon of one and a half hours, given by the Cardinal, this was not a service of consecration. As was conventional, no church would be consecrated until all debts relating to it had been paid and this did not happen until 1908.³¹

In the afternoon about 300 people – '...nobility, gentry, visitors and inhabitants of Scarborough...' – together with the bishops and clergy, sat down to lunch in the school room under the presidency of the Hon. Charles Langdale (1787-1868) of Houghton Hall who had been MP for Beverley and Knaresborough in the 1830s. This luncheon was primarily for the visitors and a second meal for the local congregation was held in the evening. A member of the Catholic congregation, William Milsom (1804-1862) of the Castle Hotel, Queen Street, was responsible for the catering arrangements.³²

Consecration of the Roman Catholic Section of Scarborough Cemetery (1858)

By the mid-nineteenth century, the graveyards of Scarborough were filling up and there arose a need for a new cemetery to serve all denominations. The Roman Catholics had no burial ground near their chapel. In 1855, a Burial Board was appointed in Scarborough under the provisions of the Burial Act of that year. It set about finding a suitable site and defining the design and use of a proposed new cemetery for all denominations. In 1856, 12 acres of land known as Chapman's Pasture were purchased from John Bell, owner of the Queen's Hotel, for £3,000.³³ The Burial Board debated the layout of the land. The Anglican Vicar of Scarborough, Rev. John Whiteside, demanded a totally separate area for members of his congregation to be demarcated from the Dissenters by iron railings. He also wanted a separate Anglican cemetery chapel, pointing out that Anglican custom rejected having its churches and chapels joined to any unconsecrated building. Given the number of Nonconformists in the town, a compromise was arrived at with the Church of England taking the eastern end of the site and the Dissenters being allocated the west but with no physical separation. A single funerary chapel was finally agreed but with separate sections for the Anglicans and the Nonconformists. An architectural competition was held in 1856 for designing the cemetery chapel and lodges and it was won by Messrs Pritchett and Sons of Darlington.³⁴ John Gibson, an architect of Malton, who had designed the Crown Hotel, Esplanade, Scarborough (1845), was appointed to lay out the grounds and the work was carried out by Scarborough builder Benjamin Smith (1808-1898). The total cost of the new cemetery was £10,300.³⁵

The Roman Catholic member of the Burial Board was Samuel Standidge Byron, who had been the first Mayor of Scarborough in 1836, and it was he who looked after the interests of the Catholics.³⁶ An area in the non-Anglican western end of the cemetery was reserved for the town's Catholics and Byron arranged for a vault to be constructed in this area for the interment of Catholic clergy.³⁷

The Anglican area of the cemetery was consecrated by the Archbishop of York on 28 July 1857 and in the evening the Dissenters held a service in their allocated area. The area reserved for Roman Catholics was consecrated one year later on 31 July 1858 by the Right Rev. John Briggs, Bishop of Beverley, who three days earlier had attended the opening of St Peter's Church. The legal document securing the ground for ever as a Catholic cemetery was publicly read out by Samuel Standidge Byron.³⁸

Reverend John Walker and Education in Scarborough

With the opening of St Peter's Church in 1858 the old chapel building in Auborough became redundant. The priest's house adjoining the chapel was taken over by the Bar Convent at York and renamed St Joseph's Convent, primarily for invalid and convalescent nuns. Rev. Walker probably moved into an adjacent cottage, as the new presbytery was not finished until 1861. John Walker was an active promoter of education in Scarborough and he encouraged these nuns to set up a middle school for Catholic girls in 1859 and later also a night school. The influence of the nuns of St Joseph's was, however, short lived. In 1863, Bishop Cornthwaite of Beverley, following a visitation to the mother house at York, decided that the Scarborough branch was an unacceptable drain on finances and he ordered its closure. As a consequence, the schools closed.³⁹

When Robert Cornthwaite had become Bishop of Beverley in 1861, he made the provision of Catholic schools for Catholic children the highest priority in the diocese, even over building new churches. This was because of a concern that Catholic children would loose their faith in a non-Catholic school.⁴⁰ Under Walker's influence, a school for poor Catholics was opened which, in 1863, had an average attendance of 90 pupils.⁴¹ It is recorded that the first headmaster was John Austin Fletcher (1825–1875), who had previously been a schoolmaster at Scarborough National School and who was also a Catholic bookseller and stationer in the town.⁴²

John Walker's influence on education in Scarborough was consolidated when he became a member of the first School Board in 1871.⁴³ Rev. Walker's obituary states, 'For years he has schooled and partly clothed 200 children at his own expense, and for long he also remunerated the schoolmaster and mistress until the congregation determined to assist him.'⁴⁴ By 1874, the Yorkshire Catholics were able to claim that there was ample space throughout the county for all Catholic children to attend Catholic schools.⁴⁵

The Death of the Very Reverend Canon John Walker (1873)

John Walker was a popular and well-known figure in Scarborough, not just among the Catholic residents of the town. He was a dean of St Hilda's Deanery and in 1851 he was made a canon of the Diocese of Beverley. From 1866 to 1872 he was a vice-president of Scarborough Dispensary, which entitled him to send patients to the institution for free treatment and in 1871 he was elected a member of the Scarborough School Board.⁴⁶

On Tuesday, 17 June 1873, John Walker had left Scarborough for Ecclestone, near Preston, to visit a sick brother. However, on Saturday, 21 June, St Peter's assistant priest, Rev. Henry B. Allies, received a telegram from Walker saying that he was indisposed. He asked Allies to take the Sunday service in Scarborough. Rev. Walker was well enough to celebrate mass in Ecclestone on Saturday, but during mass at St Peter's, Scarborough the next day, Rev. Allies received a telegram informing him that Rev. Walker had died that

day. A deputation of the congregation was at once charged to go to Ecclestone, to request that Rev. Walker be buried in Scarborough and to make arrangements for this. John Walker's body returned to Scarborough by train arriving at 6.45 pm on Wednesday, 25 June, and was met by a large number of townsfolk. His sudden and unexpected death had shocked everyone in the town. The coffin was taken in ceremonial procession to St Peter's Church, heavily draped in black cloth, where a service known as the *Dirge for the Dead* was held.

The funeral took place the next day. The church was opened at 7 am to allow the large number of mourners to pay their last respects at the coffin. Bishop Cornthwaite of Beverley celebrated a requiem mass for John Walker in the presence of eight canons and sixty clergy. The funeral procession was composed of nine carriages of clergy and five mourning carriages of eminent Scarborough Catholics, one carrying five ladies and one with eight little girls from St Peter's School bearing flowers. Next were the civic carriages with the Mayor and members of the Corporation and the School Board. These were followed by about 30 further private carriages. It was estimated that the route of the funeral procession to Scarborough Cemetery was lined with 8000–10,000 people. There was also a large crowd at the cemetery gates which had been kept closed until the cortege arrived. John, Canon Walker was buried in the vault that Samuel Standidge Byron had provided, his head being laid towards the east, 'as is the custom in burying the clergy of that Church'.⁴⁷

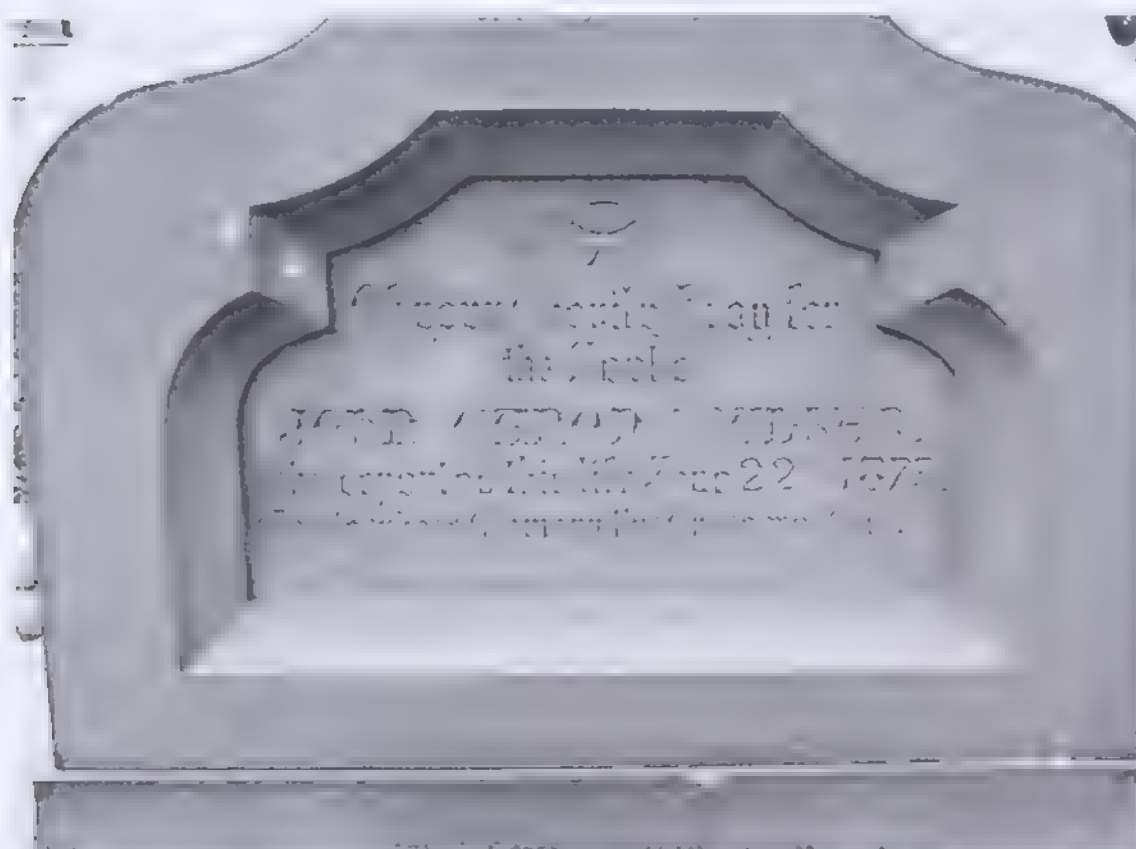


Figure 3: Memorial inscription for Canon Walker on RC Rectors' vault in Dean Road Cemetery. Photograph by the authors.

A stone memorial cross was erected on the vault, Canon Walker being the first of Scarborough's Catholic clergy to be buried there. A marble wall tablet, designed by George Goldie and sculpted by T. Earp, was erected in St Peter's Church to the memory of Canon John Walker.⁴⁸

Reverend Arthur Grange Riddell, Missionary Rector, Scarborough (1873–1880) (see also Appendix)

John Walker's successor in Scarborough was Rev. A. G. Riddell who had studied at St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, near Durham, Canon Walker's old college. Prior to coming to Scarborough, Arthur Riddell had been an assistant priest for 14 years at the church of St Charles Borromeo in Hull.⁴⁹ He soon became a recognisable figure in Scarborough riding about on horseback, '... an imposing and aristocratic figure ...'⁵⁰

The Completion of St Peter's Church

Father Riddell was immediately involved with the completion of the Church. Financial limitations had meant that some aspects of George Goldie's design for St Peter's had not been achieved. The tower was never built and much of the interior decoration had not been executed although Goldie's presbytery had been completed in 1861.

Canon Walker had spent much of his time successfully organising money-raising events to liquidate the debt. At the time of his death good progress had been made and in the summer of that year, 1873, '... various ladies of the nobility and gentry ...' held a three-day bazaar in the Spa saloon raising £700.⁵¹ In addition, Mr. William Locke (1822–1887) a colliery owner of Newland Hall, near Wakefield, and Scarborough offered to clear the rest of the debt and also to pay the cost of a new organ.⁵²

During the first half of 1874, the church was closed for six months. During this time pictures from the studio of Charles Goldie, the architect's brother, were hung. Charles Goldie was a London painter of genre and historical subjects who exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1858 to 1879.⁵³ Coloured wall decorations were added by Emanuel Vary of Westborough, Scarborough, stone sculptures by Mr. T. Earp of Lambeth were installed, carved wood decoration by Mr W. Stanforth were added and new gas fittings were put up in the chancel by Septimus Bland of Bar Street, Scarborough. The overall project was supervised by Mr Hodgkinson of Cork. A new organ by Messrs Andrews and Forster of Hull was also installed.⁵⁴

The Reopening of St Peter's Church

St Peter's Church was formally reopened on 22 July 1874 with great ceremony. In the morning there was a Pontifical High Mass sung by the Right Rev. Dr Cornthwaite, the Bishop of Beverley, assisted by the Very Rev. Canon Motler of Bradford and other ministers from around Yorkshire. The church was crowded, '... notwithstanding that the admission had to be paid for ...'⁵⁵ The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Salford, the Right Rev. Dr Vaughan, and the Master of Ceremonies was Rev. Edward Goldie of Leeds, another of the architect's brothers, who had previously been an assistant priest to

Rev. Canon John Walker in Scarborough. There was a further service at the Church in the evening when Rev. Father Clare S.J. preached the sermon. After each service a collection was held for the support of the schools.⁵⁶

In the afternoon, a luncheon for '... upwards of 120 persons ...' was held at the Royal Hotel, Scarborough, presided over by Charles Langdale of Houghton Hall, Sancton, in the East Riding of Yorkshire.⁵⁷ Toasts were made to the His Holiness the Pope and to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria and tributes were given to the late Canon Walker, who had made considerable progress in clearing the debt, and also to the generosity of William Locke.⁵⁸

Although the debt on the Church itself was now been paid off, a debt still remained on the presbytery and Rev. Riddell instituted a popular fund-raising event in Scarborough, the annual Catholic tea and entertainment held in the Town Hall.⁵⁹

Riddell and Education in Scarborough

Reverend Riddell continued the work of his predecessor, John Walker, in supporting education in Scarborough. In 1878, he wrote a letter to the Bar Convent in York, seeking the return of the nuns to Scarborough. He wrote '... I want them merely for the schools: I do not want nuns to visit the people in their homes and to learn all the scandal of a fashionable watering place.'⁶⁰ However, the nuns did not return. Riddell was an active member of Scarborough School Board, being President in 1880. Throughout his ministry in the town, he was a member of the Board of Governors of Scarborough Dispensary and Accident Hospital, and was President in 1880.⁶¹

In March 1880, it was announced that Arthur Riddell had been appointed to the Diocese of Northampton, following the resignation in 1879 of Bishop Francis Kerril Amherst, who had held the post since 1858. In June 1880, Rev. Riddell was consecrated Bishop of Northampton, a diocese that included Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk and Suffolk.⁶²

An 'Interregnum' (1880–1882)

After the departure of Rev. Riddell, no permanent successor was appointed until 1882. From 1880 to 1881 the curate in charge was Rev. Edmund Kennedy 'on loan' from outside the Middlesbrough Diocese. From 1881 to 1882, the Very Rev. Provost Canon Henry Walker, from St Hilda's Church, Ruswarp, Whitby, acted as parish priest in Scarborough.⁶³

Reverend James Dolan, Missionary Rector (1882–1913) (see also Appendix)

In October 1882, James Dolan was appointed to St Peter's Church. Rev. Dolan had suffered ill-health while at St Patrick's Church, Huddersfield, and had been moved to lighter duties first as chaplain of Holme on Spalding Moor and afterwards as chaplain at Everingham Park, the residence of Lord Herries. His health having been restored, Dolan was appointed to Scarborough by the Bishop of Middlesbrough, Richard Lacy, an old

school friend of Dolan's. Dolan's previous ill-health may have influenced the Bishop's choice of Scarborough.⁶⁴ By now Scarborough was in the Diocese of Middlesbrough which, together with the Diocese of Leeds, had been formed in 1879 when the Diocese of Beverley was split.⁶⁵ On arrival in the town Dolan was reported to have been accompanied by a second priest, Rev. Nolan.⁶⁶

Within six months of his arrival in Scarborough, Rev. Dolan further beautified St Peter's Church by having the interior redecorated. He soon involved himself in many activities in the town: the Charity Organisation, the Board of Governors of Scarborough Hospital and Dispensary, the Board of the NSPCC and the RSPCA. He was a supporter of the Scarborough Mechanics' Institute, giving lectures there in aid of its funds including one on the Passion play at Oberammergau which he had attended. In January 1899, Canon Dolan was elected to the Board of Guardians to represent Scarborough's East Ward.

Reverend Dolan founded the Scarborough branch of the League of the Cross – the leading Catholic temperance society – and organised several confraternities including the Society of the Sacred Heart, the Children of Mary and the Bona Mors. In 1886, he was made a Canon of the Middlesbrough Diocese.⁶⁷

Rev. James Dolan and Education in Scarborough

Like his two predecessors, Rev. Walker and Rev. Riddell, Dolan was very active in the promotion of education in the town. Canon Dolan was a long serving member of the Scarborough School Board. As far as Catholic education was concerned, he supported St Peter's School and was responsible for bringing the Ladies of Mary (Dames de Marie), a Belgian teaching order, to Scarborough in June 1882 very soon after his appointment.⁶⁸

The nuns initially moved to Tollergate House where Madame Cecilia (1829–1910) was Mother Superior and their school taught 35 poor children. Born in Brussels of an English mother, Cecilia had first come to England in 1869 and set up a Convent school at Croydon. In Scarborough she was instrumental, in 1884, in the purchase of a site in Queen Street known as the Bowling Green for the erection of a larger convent school.⁶⁹ Frederick Walters (1850–1932) was commissioned to design this school. Walters was a London architect of Great Queen Street, Westminster, who specialised in Roman Catholic buildings and had for a time worked with George Goldie. The Scarborough builder, John Barry junior (1833–1910), was the main contractor for the work.⁷⁰ Building work began in autumn 1884, Walters' design being for a three-storey red brick building fronting Queen Street. It had accommodation for the nuns, the school with classrooms and dormitories for boarding pupils. Included in the design was also a spacious chapel at the rear of the convent where Canon Dolan could hold services. The cost was estimated to be about £15,000.⁷¹

The Convent was opened by the Bishop of Middlesbrough in 1886 on the Festival of the Transfiguration, 6 August, although the chapel was not quite complete. A solemn High Mass, *Coram Episcopo*, was sung in the convent chapel by the Very Rev. Canon Arnold of Brough Hall, Catterick; the sub-deacon was Rev. Stephen Dolan, twin brother of James Dolan. Many other Yorkshire clergy were present. The Bishop preached the sermon, saying that educating and training the young was a '... Divine work ...' The nuns sang the music of the Mass while the Mother Superior accompanied them on the

harmonium. In the afternoon the Bishop opened a bazaar in the Convent to raise money for the chapel.⁷²



Figure 4: St Mary's Convent building 2008, now apartments. Photograph by the authors.

Further Developments at St Peter's Church, 1898–1902

To celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee (1897) a range of stained glass windows were erected in the Church in 1898 financed by public subscription.⁷³ In 1902, Canon Dolan spent £1000 further beautifying St Peter's Church with new statues and vestments and an improved heating system was also installed.⁷⁴

The Consecration of St Peter's Church (1908)

In 1908, St Peter's parish was at long last fully clear of all debt; this made possible the consecration of the Church. In July of that year, the Church was consecrated by the Right Rev. Francis Mostyn, Lord Bishop of Menevia, North Wales, 50 years after its opening. As the consecration took place in the Church's golden jubilee year there was considerable ceremony and celebration. A fast was observed the night before the consecration and the next day Bishop Mostyn began by walking around the outside of the Church three times sprinkling holy water at different levels to the exterior of the building. The Bishop then entered the Church making the Sign of the Cross with his staff at the door and declaring '... flee all ye phantoms ...' He then entered the Church with his train of clergy and

blessed the interior. The consecration was followed by a Mass celebrated by Canon Dolan, assisted by his school friend, Richard Lacy, Bishop of Middlesbrough. The whole ceremony lasted four hours.⁷⁵

A Chapel of Ease, the Church of St Edward the Confessor

As early as 1891, Canon Dolan had set in motion moves to provide a Roman Catholic chapel of ease to serve Scarborough's growing South Cliff community. The Church received a legacy from Mrs Reynard of Sunderlandwick towards such a project and the money was invested. About 1911, Mr Yarborough Anderson, JP of York, offered a further sum if the project was begun forthwith. In March 1912, plans for the new Catholic Church to be built on a site in Avenue Victoria were submitted to Scarborough Corporation for approval.⁷⁶ Local architects John Petch and Son (Harry) were commissioned to design the new building. The Bishop of Middlesbrough laid the foundation stone on 13 August 1912 in the presence of several canons including Stephen Dolan, James Dolan's twin brother, many other clergy and a large crowd of well wishers. At this time the estimated cost was £2,500 of which £1,800 had already been raised. The contractors for the building included John Jaram and Son (brickwork and masonry), Fred Hargrave (tiling), James Spink and Son (carpentry and joinery), H. Pickup (ironwork), Clough and Tasker (heating apparatus), Walker and Hutton (electric lighting) and J. J. Carr (painting).⁷⁷



Figure 5: St Edward's Church, Avenue Victoria. Photograph by the authors.

The Death of Canon James Dolan (1913)

Canon Dolan became ill in 1913 and his parochial duties were taken up by Father Rudolph OSFC assisted by the curate, Father Quirk. Canon Dolan died on Sunday 3 August 1913 and his death was announced at the Sunday evening service by the curate. Canon Dolan's coffin lay in state in St Peter's Church from Monday to Wednesday morning, the day of his funeral. The day began with a solemn requiem mass at St Peter's lasting an hour and a half, attended by many Roman Catholic clergy from across the north of England. Officiating priests led the cortege to Scarborough Cemetery, chanting as they went. The Mayor and Corporation attended, as did ministers from all the other denominations in Scarborough. Canon Dolan was buried in the vault reserved for the town's Catholic priests, the burial place of Canon Walker.⁷⁸



Figure 6: Memorial inscription for Canon Dolan on RC Rectors' vault in Dean Road cemetery. Photograph by the authors.

The opening of St Edward's (1914)

Canon Dolan had been an enthusiastic proponent of the new chapel of ease on South Cliff and his successor, Canon Thomas O'Connell (1861–1928), energetically continued Dolan's work.

The first service at the Church of St Edward the Confessor was in June 1914 even though the building was not fully completed. This was necessitated by the pressure of numbers at St Peter's Church in the holiday season. Indeed, such seasonal pressure of numbers was the main reason for building the church. The local newspaper commented that some

prominent Catholics including 'some holding names of distinction ...' had refrained from visiting Scarborough because of the lack of a Catholic Church on South Cliff where they were likely to stay. As yet St Edward's had no organ or choir so the first service took the form of a Low Mass and the preacher was Father Corcoran of St Mary's College, Middlesbrough. This first service was in effect the informal opening of the Church, a formal one being planned for later in the year. The costs at this time were reported to be about £2,800 (exclusive of the site which had been previously donated) of which £2,400 had been raised.⁷⁹

Two months later the First World War began.

Envoi

All of the buildings mentioned in the article are still standing in the twenty-first century (2008).

The 1809 chapel in Auborough Street housed St Peter's School until the school moved to new premises in 1992. The old building is currently used for business purposes.

The churches of St Peter and St Edward the Confessor continue to serve Scarborough's Roman Catholic population.

The Convent of the Dames de Marie closed in 1972 with the advent of comprehensive education. The building continued to have a range of educational uses until the 1990s when it was converted to flats.

Acknowledgments

David Smallwood, Middlesbrough Diocesan Archivist.

Appendix: Additional Biographical Notes on Scarborough's Roman Catholic Ministers (1835 to 1913)

John Walker 1801 (Thistleton, Lancashire)–1873 (Scarborough)

Missionary Rector Scarborough 1835–1873

John Walker was born 4 February 1800 in Thistleton, Lancashire. He was educated at St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, near Durham. This Roman Catholic ecclesiastical college was founded in 1808 to continue the work of Douai College, France, which had been founded in 1568 by William Allen for English Catholics. Later the College transferred to Rheims. However, it closed during the French Revolution and was re-founded at Ushaw in 1808.

John Walker was ordained at St Cuthbert's College in 1826. He was appointed an assistant priest (curate) in Liverpool but after about three years there he fell ill and returned to Ushaw to recuperate. By 1835 he had recovered sufficiently to take up his ministry in Scarborough which lasted until his death in 1873.

References

Everyman's Encyclopaedia, 4th edition, J. M. Dent, London 1961, vol. 12, p.378 (Douai College).

Everyman's Encyclopaedia, 4th edition, J. M. Dent, London 1961, vol. 12, p.467 (Ushaw College).

Scarborough Mercury, 28 June 1873, obituary.

Scarborough Gazette, 26 June 1873, obituary.

Curates under Rev. Walker

Rev. Edward Goldie 1832 (York)–1896

Curate in Scarborough 1859–1862

Later secretary to Bishop Cornthwaite

Rev. James Rodgers 1835 (Scotland)–1890

Curate in Scarborough 1864–1865

Rev. James Guthrie

Curate in Scarborough 1865–1866

Rev. Charles Burke died 1899

Curate in Scarborough 1866–1869

Rev. James Atkinson died 1900

Curate in Scarborough 1870–71

Rev. Henry Basil Allies 1845 (Oxfordshire)–1897

Curate in Scarborough 1872–1880

Rev. Allies was assistant priest at St Peter's at the time of Canon Walker's death in 1873 and was responsible for organising the return of his body to Scarborough for burial. He continued to be curate under Rev. Riddell until 1879. By 1881, he had moved to Lincolnshire. However, by 1891 he was assistant head priest at Cathedral House, Primrose Hill, Northampton, where Arthur Riddell (below) was now Bishop.

References

Scarborough Mercury, 28 June 1873 (obituary of Canon Walker).

Rev. Arthur Grange Riddell 1837 (Paris)–1907 (Northampton)

Missionary Rector Scarborough 1873–1880

Arthur Grange Riddell was born in Paris, 15 September 1836, the third son of Edward Widdrington Riddell of Bootham House, York and his wife the Hon. Catharine, sister of the 8th Baron Beaumont. Arthur Riddell was educated at St Gregory's College, Downside near Bath and at St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, near Durham, Canon Walker's old college. Arthur Riddell was ordained on 24 September 1859 by the Right Rev. William Hogarth, Bishop of Hexham and was appointed assistant to the Very Rev. Michael Trappes at the church of St Charles Borromeo, Hull, where he served for 14 years. On the death of Canon John Walker in 1873, Riddell was appointed to St Peter's Scarborough. In June 1880, he was consecrated Bishop of Northampton.

References

Scarborough Gazette, 11 March 1880 (appointed bishop).

Scarborough Mercury, 29 September 1907 (obituary).

Pevsner, Nikolaus and Neave, David, *The Buildings of England, Yorkshire: York and The East Riding*, Penguin Books 1999, p. 514 (St Charles Borromeo, Hull).

Curates under Rev. Riddell

Rev. Henry Basil Allies 1845 (Oxfordshire)–1897

Curate in Scarborough 1872–1880; see note above.

Rev. Edmund Kennedy 1839 (Ireland)–

Curate in Charge Scarborough 1880–1881

After the departure of Revs Riddell and Allies, no permanent parish priest was appointed until 1882. From 1880 to 1881 the curate in charge was Rev. Edmund Kennedy 'on loan' from outside the Middlesbrough Diocese.

References

Personal Communication David Smallwood, Middlesbrough Diocesan Archivist.

The Very Reverend Provost Walker 1828 (York)–1886

Missionary Rector Scarborough 1881–1882

Rev. Kennedy, curate in charge, left Scarborough in 1881, after which the Very Rev. Provost Canon Henry Walker from St Hilda's Church, Ruswarp, Whitby acted as parish priest in Scarborough until the appointment of Rev. Dolan.

References

Personal communication David Smallwood, Middlesbrough Diocesan Archivist.

Scarborough Gazette, 26 October 1882 (appointment of Rev. Dolan).

Reverend James Dolan 1841 (Cashel, Ireland)–1913 (Scarborough)

Missionary Rector Scarborough 1882–1913

James Dolan and his twin brother Stephen were born in 1841 in Cashel, Ireland. They were both educated St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, near Durham and ordained on the same day in 1866 by the Bishop Robert Cornthwaite.

James Dolan's first appointment was at St Mary's, Leeds under the Very Rev. John Motler. Six years later Dolan moved to St Patrick's Church, Huddersfield where there were only three priests to serve a very large Catholic population. Dolan's health broke down under the pressure of work and he was moved to lighter duties, first as chaplain at Holme-on-Spalding Moor and afterwards as chaplain to Everingham Park, the residence of Lord Hennes. Once his health was restored, Dolan was appointed to the mission in Scarborough in 1882.

In 1886, James Dolan was made a Canon of the Middlesbrough Diocese, his brother, Stephen, having become a Canon of the Leeds Diocese.

In Scarborough, Canon James Dolan was described in a contemporary report as '... quiet, unostentatious ...' and '... a pleasing conversationalist'. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of his appointment to St Peter's, he was feted by his congregation with gold chalice and paten embellished with amethysts and rubies. The nuns and boarders of the Convent School gave him a humeral veil. Gold mounted cruets came from the Catechism of Perseverance Class, while the teachers and pupils of St Peter's School gave him a handsomely bound copy of the Missal Romanum. James Canon Dolan died in Scarborough in August 1913 while still Rector at St Peter's.

References

Blakey, J. W. (ed.), *Some Scarborough Faces, Past and Present* (Scarborough, Gazette Printing and Publishing Co. 1901), pp. 51-54 (biography up to 1901).

Curates under Rev. Dolan

Rev. James Murphy

Curate in Scarborough 1882–1884

James Murphy was 'on loan' from outside the Middlesbrough Diocese. He left Scarborough in October 1884 to move to the Catholic Mission at Pocklington.

References

Personal communication David Smallwood, Middlesbrough Diocesan Archivist

Scarborough Mercury, 24 October 1884 (leaving Scarborough)

Rev. Francis John Hall 1861 (York)–1937

Curate in Scarborough 1884–1889

Student of Ushaw College who had been ordained at Middlesbrough immediately before coming to Scarborough in October 1884.

References

Scarborough Mercury, 24 October 1884 (arrival in Scarborough).

Rev. P. Gilsenan

Curate in Scarborough 1889–1890

Rev. Jeremiah O’Gorman 1864 (Ireland)–

Curate in Scarborough 1890–1892

Rev. James Glanc(e)y

Curate in Scarborough 1892–1893

Rev. Henry J. Reynolds

Curate in Scarborough 1893–1894

Rev. Aloysius Maes

Curate in Scarborough 1894–1895

Rev. Thomas Crowley

Curate in Scarborough 1895–1899

Rev. Thomas Connolly

Curate in Scarborough 1899–1901

Rev. Patrick Casey 1876 (Ireland)–

Curate in Scarborough 1901–1902

Rev. Thomas Wilson died 1958

Curate in Scarborough 1903–1907

References

¹ The authors are not Roman Catholics and apologise for any theological or liturgical errors in this article.

² Thomas Hinderwell, *The History and Antiquities of Scarborough* (1st edition, Scarborough, 1798), p. 240.

³ Jack Binns, *The History of Scarborough* (Pickering, 2003), p.145.

⁴ John H. Rushton, *They Kept Faith*, 1967. Manuscript, Scarborough Library 285 8(Y), p. 204.

⁵ Binns, *ibid*.

⁶ James Schofield, *A Guide to Scarborough and its Environs* (York, 1789), p.57.

⁷ Hinderwell, *op. cit.*, p. 99. G. Broadrick, *A New Scarborough Guide* (Scarborough, 1806), p. 15. A. Ainsworth, *The Scarborough Guide*, Scarborough 1806, p. 55.

⁸ Thomas Hinderwell, *The History and Antiquities of Scarborough* (2nd edition, London, York and Scarborough, 1811), p. 188.

⁹ Dominic Minskip, *A History of St Peter’s Mission, Scarborough* (York, 1989), p. 7.

¹⁰ S. W. Theakston, *Theakston’s Guide to Scarborough* (Scarborough, 1858), pp. 67–68.

¹¹ Rushton, *ibid*; Minskip, *ibid*.

¹² *History of Roman Catholicism in Scarborough*, 1, Scarborough Mercury 2 November 1956, p 7. Mr Ullathorne’s son, William Bernard Ullathorne (1806–1889), was Archbishop of Birmingham from 1850 to 1887: *Dictionary of National Biography*, Compact Edition (Oxford, 1975), p. 2133.

¹³ Minskip, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Arthur Rowntree (ed.), *The History of Scarborough* (London, 1931) p. 342

¹⁴ William White, *Directory, Guide and Annals of Kingston Hull, Scarborough etc* (1831)

¹⁵ Rushton, *ibid*, J. Ainsworth, *Guide to Scarborough and its Environs* (Scarborough, 1832), p. 24; Thomas Hinderwell, *The History and Antiquities of Scarborough* (3rd edition, Scarborough and London, 1832), p. 162.

¹⁶ Rowntree, *ibid*; *Scarborough Mercury*, 28 June 1873, *Scarborough Gazette*, 26 June 1873

¹⁷ Rushton, *ibid*

¹⁸ Hinderwell, *ibid*.

¹⁹ Theakston, *ibid*.

²⁰ *Scarborough Herald*, 17 October 1839. Another painting by Bulmer in the north of England, the Adoration of the Magi, is in St Augustine’s Church, Preston (built 1838–1840) where the artist lived for a period: web site of St Augustine’s Church, Preston, Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, North Lancashire* (Penguin Books, 1968), p. 202.

²¹ Minskip, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²² *Ibid*: *Dictionary of National Biography*, Compact Edition (Oxford, 1975), pp. 1716–1717.

²³ A. Feldstead (ed.), *Directory of British Architects 1834–1900* (London, 1993), p. 357.

²⁴ Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Buildings of England, Yorkshire The West Riding* (Penguin Books, 1967), pp 127–128; *The Buildings of England, Yorkshire The North Riding* (Penguin Books, 1966), p. 376

²⁵ George Errington, who had been consecrated the first Bishop of Plymouth in July 1851, was in 1855 made Coadjutor to Cardinal Wiseman who was suffering ill-health under increasing episcopal duties.

- Besides being Coadjutor, Errington was also Archbishop of the Armenian Diocese of Trebizond: Catholic Encyclopaedia online, www.newadvent.org.
- ²⁶ History of Roman Catholicism in Scarborough, 1, *Scarborough Mercury*, 2 November 1956, p. 7; *Scarborough Gazette*, 9 October 1856.
- ²⁷ *Scarborough Gazette*, 29 July 1858.
- ²⁸ Minskip, op. cit., p. 10; *Scarborough Gazette*, 6 and 10 October 1856.
- ²⁹ *Scarborough Gazette*, 29 July 1858; Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Yorkshire: The North Riding* (Penguin Books, 1966), p. 323.
- ³⁰ Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts, A Complete Dictionary of Contributors 1769-1904*, vol. 2 (London, 1905), p. 261.
- ³¹ *Scarborough Gazette*, 29 July 1858.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Cross, H M., 'Our Cemetery, Scarborough', *An Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, vol. vi, November 1897 no. 47, pp. 5-8; Crosby's *Scarborough Guide*, with many illustrations, 8th edition (Scarborough, 1860).
- ³⁴ Cross, ibid.
- ³⁵ A. and P. Bayliss, *Architects and Civil Engineers of Nineteenth Century Scarborough* (Scarborough, 2001), p. 33.
- ³⁶ A. and P. Bayliss, *Scarborough's MPs, 1832-1906. Scarborough's Mayors, 1836-1906, A Biographical Dictionary* (Scarborough, 2008), pp. 50-51.
- ³⁷ History of Roman Catholicism in Scarborough, 1, *Scarborough Mercury*, 2 November 1956, p. 7.
- ³⁸ James Greasley, *Royal Guide to Scarborough* (1860), p. 105.
- ³⁹ Minskip, op. cit., p. 16.
- ⁴⁰ J. K. Supple-Green, *The Catholic Revival in Yorkshire, 1850-1900*, Leeds Philosophical & Literary Society Ltd., Oct. 1990, p. 37.
- ⁴¹ Minskip, op. cit., p. 16.
- ⁴² History of Roman Catholicism in Scarborough, 2, *Scarborough Mercury*, 9 November 1956, p. 7.
- ⁴³ Supple-Green, op. cit., p. 43.
- ⁴⁴ *Scarborough Gazette*, 26 June 1873; *Scarborough Mercury*, 28 June 1873.
- ⁴⁵ Supple-Green, op. cit., p. 38.
- ⁴⁶ A. and P. Bayliss and A. Jackson, *Scarborough Hospital & Dispensary, The First Fifty Years, 1852 - 1902* (Scarborough, 2002) [Hereafter Bayliss and Jackson].
- ⁴⁷ *Scarborough Gazette*, 26 June 1873, *Scarborough Mercury*, 28 June 1873; Minskip, op. cit., p. 24.
- ⁴⁸ Minskip, op. cit., p. 22.
- ⁴⁹ *Scarborough Gazette*, 11 March 1880; *Scarborough Mercury*, 29 September 1907.
- ⁵⁰ Minskip, op. cit., p. 24.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., p. 17.
- ⁵² *Scarborough Gazette*, 23 July 1874.
- ⁵³ Christopher Wood, *Dictionary of British Art Vol. IV, Victorian Painters* (Woodbridge, 1995).
- ⁵⁴ *Scarborough Gazette*, 23 July 1874, *Scarborough Mercury*, 23 July 1874; S. W. Theakston, *Theakston's Guide to Scarborough* (Scarborough, 1881), pp. 82-85, *North and East Riding of Yorkshire Trade Directory*, 1872.
- ⁵⁵ *Scarborough Gazette*, 23 July 1874.
- ⁵⁶ *Scarborough Mercury*, 23 July 1874.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid.
- ⁵⁸ *Scarborough Gazette*, 23 July 1874.
- ⁵⁹ Rushton, op. cit., p. 204.
- ⁶⁰ Minskip, op. cit., p. 17.
- ⁶¹ Bayliss and Jackson; *Scarborough Gazette*, 11 March 1880.
- ⁶² *Scarborough Mercury*, 29 September 1907.
- ⁶³ Personal communication David Smallwood, Middlesbrough Diocesan Archivist, *Scarborough Gazette*, 26 October 1882.
- ⁶⁴ *Scarborough Gazette*, 26 October 1882, J. W. Blakey (ed.), *Some Scarborough Faces, Past and Present* (Scarborough, 1901), pp. 51-54.
- ⁶⁵ Supple-Green, op. cit., p. 49.
- ⁶⁶ *Scarborough Gazette*, 26 October 1882.
- ⁶⁷ Blakey, op. cit., pp. 51-54.
- ⁶⁸ Minskip, op. cit., p. 25.
- ⁶⁹ *Scarborough Mercury*, 23 September 1910.

- ⁷⁰ A. and P. Bayliss, *Architects and Civil Engineers of Nineteenth Century Scarborough* (Scarborough, 2001), p. 81.
- ⁷¹ *Scarborough Mercury*, 24 October 1884; *Scarborough Gazette*, 1 December 1884.
- ⁷² *Scarborough Gazette*, 12 August 1886.
- ⁷³ Minskip, op. cit., p. 18.
- ⁷⁴ Rushton, op. cit., p. 204; Minskip, op. cit., p. 25.
- ⁷⁵ *Scarborough Mercury*, 3 July 1908.
- ⁷⁶ Register of Deposited Plans Scarborough Urban Sanitary Authority, Vol. 2, Planning Department Scarborough Borough Council.
- ⁷⁷ Minskip, op. cit.; *Scarborough Mercury*, 16 August 1912.
- ⁷⁸ *Scarborough Mercury*, 8 August 1913.
- ⁷⁹ *Scarborough Mercury*, 12 June 1914.

Walshaw's Crystal Garden

By CHRIS EVANS

When I saw these words on a map of Scarborough I imagined a super-size grotto with paths and rockeries ablaze with huge crystals. The reality is almost as impressive: Walshaw's Crystal Garden was an array of greenhouses at the top of Valley Road which ran from the railway to the roadside.

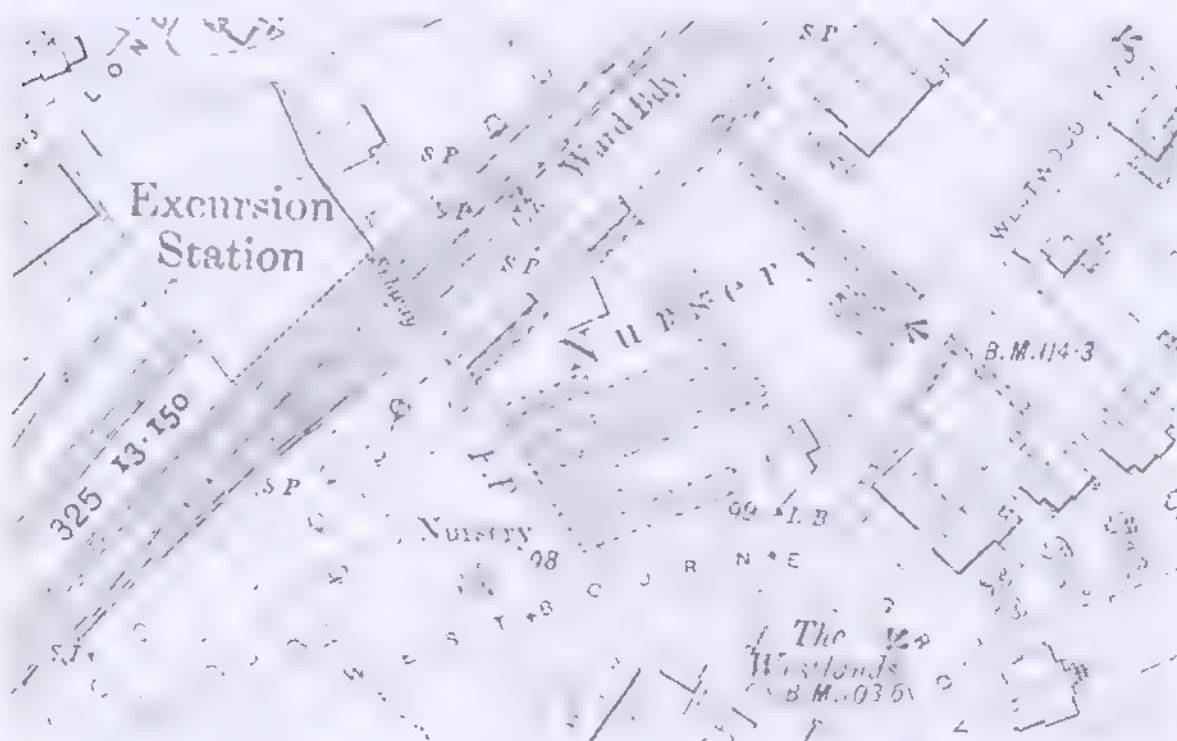


Figure 1: The site of the Crystal Garden on the 1912 Ordnance Survey map.

In an article in the *Scarborough Mercury* of Friday 13 June 1924 headed 'SCARBORO'S OLDEST FIRM. – Founded When King Charles II Reigned. – 250 YEARS OF GARDENING', the then-head of the firm of Walshaw and Son, Mr George Walshaw, said that the firm was created when Sir Jordan Crosland was Governor of Scarborough Castle and about the time George Fox was a prisoner there in 1665/6. However, there is no mention of Walshaws in the Hearth Tax of 1673¹ or in any of the other extant Scarborough tax lists. The first time the family appears in the records is in the Registry of Deeds in 1755 when William Walshaw, a gardener, bought a house in Helperby Lane (now King's Street).² According to George Walshaw, William's son John, after being indentured to Joseph Huntriss in 1781, became a sea captain and drowned on the Goodwin Sands. Another son, Thomas, also went to sea but a drunken skipper and the press gang led him to jump ship in the Thames and make his way back to Scarborough via relatives in Doncaster. According to the 1823 directory³ he lived at 3 King's Street, next door to the Star Inn. George Walshaw describes the estate at this time as including land in Cross Street, on the site of St. Sepulchre Church, and in an L-shaped block to the north of Victoria Road with the lower tip of the L being where the West Riding Hotel now stands, and between Victoria Road and Westborough from the Westborough

Methodist Church to the junction of Westborough and Victoria Road. The site of the garden to the north of Victoria Road is confirmed by John Wood's map of 1828.

Of interest is the remark made by George Walshaw to the reporter in 1924: 'When the firm of Walshaw took over the land [on which St. Sepulchre church stood] it was covered with debris from the old edifice. Mr. Geo. Walshaw has in his present garden a piece of one of the old windows.'

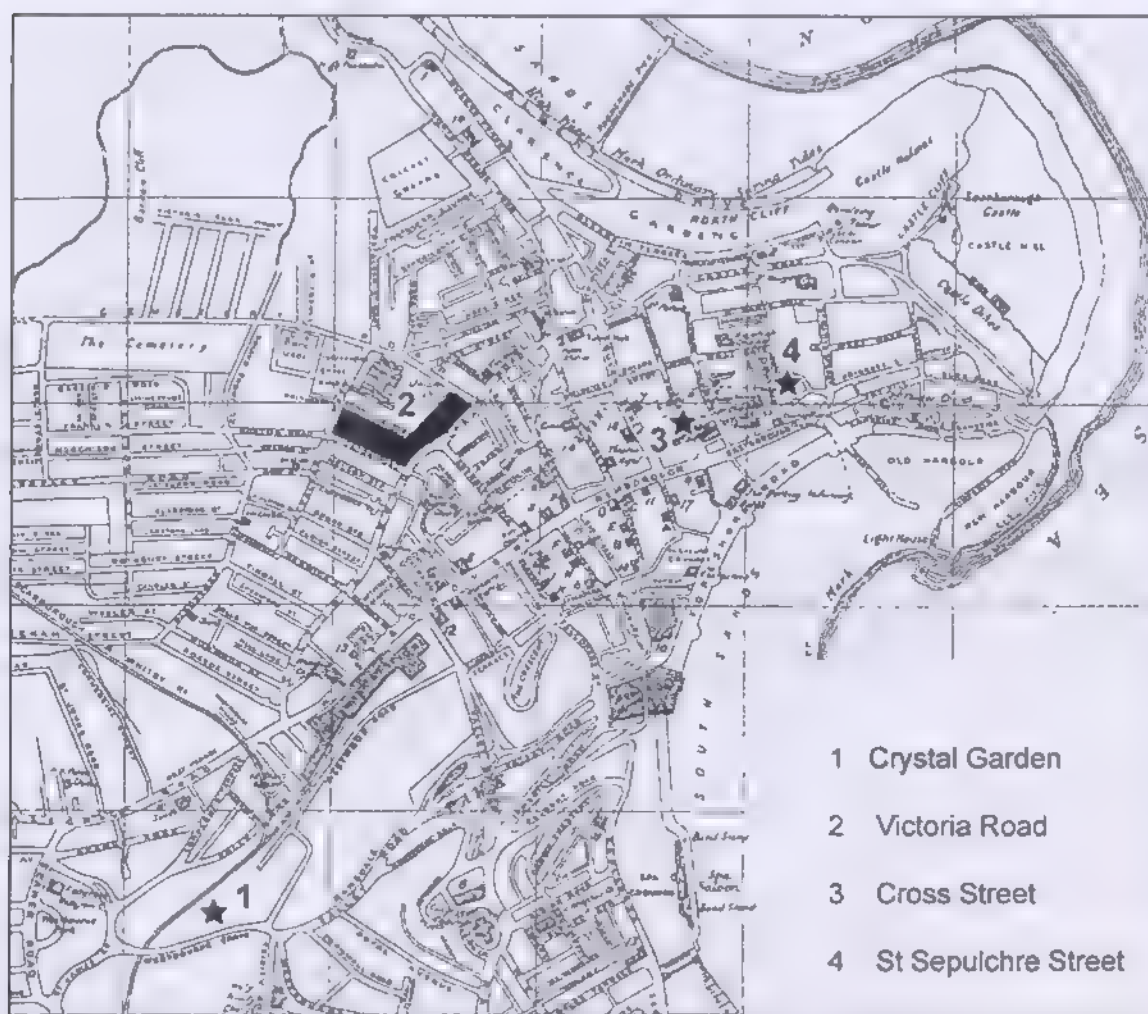


Figure 2: The location of the various Walshaw properties.

The various gardens specialised in: St Sepulchre Street, in asparagus; Cross Street, rhubarb; and Victoria Road, nursery stock and vegetables.

Thomas Walshaw died in 1834; despite this the directory of 1840 has him living in King's Street. The census of 1841⁴ has George Walshaw, an agricultural labourer, as the head of the household, with what must be assumed to be his siblings Sarah, Jane and Elizabeth and also John Dale, age 6, of independent means.

The next 10 years saw a big change in the family circumstances. In 1851 George was at 3 King's Street but with a wife, Caroline, 10 years younger than him, from Isle Abbots in

Somerset; twins – a son Thomas and a daughter Ann – three years old and another daughter one year old. The three children were all born in Scarborough. Also living there was George's sister Sarah. George's Caroline is probably Caroline Hooper, the daughter of William and Jane Harris of Martock, a village seven miles east of Isle Abbots. Caroline brought with her a young relative, Caroline Jane, the daughter of John and Jemina Harris of Wellenge (presumably a hamlet near Isle Abbots). Probably George had gone to Somerset to broaden his horticultural experience. George and Caroline continued to produce flowers and vegetables.

The next 10 years saw more changes. One suspects that Caroline Walshaw was the driving force behind this entrepreneurial activity. In 1858 both the St. Sepulchre Street garden and the triangular piece between Westborough and Victoria Road were sold, the latter for between £4000 and £5000. This enabled the family to move from King's Street to 5 Cromwell Road and the Crystal Villa, which still stands on the site of the Crystal Garden. The household then consisted of George and Caroline and their children – one produced roughly every two years starting in 1848: Thomas, Caroline M. George, Jane L., Louisa and Alfred, plus a 14-year-old apprentice, William Burton.

In 1871 George Walshaw died, leaving his wife Caroline and eldest son Thomas to carry on the business. The business is listed under Thomas Harris Walshaw in 1872, but after that simply Walshaw and Son. Thomas Walshaw does not appear in the Scarborough censuses after that. George, the second son, took over the business.

Thus the household in 1881 was George, his mother Caroline, his sister (also Caroline) and another sister, Lucy. In 1891 Lucy does not appear but a grand-daughter, Winifred Wilkinson, age five, is in the household.

The Walshaw' advertisement in the Scarborough Directory of 1892 describes them thus:

Nurserymen and Florists with nurseries at Westwood
For the cultivation of Florist Flowers, Fruit &c Nearly 100,000
superficial feet of glass.
Cut Flowers, Bouquets and Funeral Devices artistically arranged.
Branch Nursery at Scalby.
Several acres of Roses, Fruit Trees, and Evergreens, Shrubs, Christmas
Roses, Daffodil and Tulip Bulbs &c.
Contractors for Laying out Gardens and keeping them supplied an in order.

We now might ask what happened to Alfred and Jane Walshaw. The 1901 census locates both of them in Birmingham. Alfred was a clerk in a wine merchants and married to Anna from Berlin. Their first three children (George, 16; Charlie, 15; and Gretchen, 7) were all born in Germany. Alfred, age five, was born in Birmingham; and Harold, age five months, in Scarborough. Also living with them was Alfred's sister, Jane, working as a nurse and married but with no husband listed in the household. So in the 1880s Alfred went off to Germany and found a wife; Jane stayed at home and found a husband and then lost him. We would dearly like to know the stories behind these bare facts.

George was not quite so adventurous in his search for a wife. He married Madeline from Dublin and in 1897 they had a son, Frank, and were living at 5 Cromwell Road. Carolines, mother and daughter, and Winifred, the granddaughter, were at the Nurseries

on Westwood. I suspect that Caroline the mother died in 1901 because in 1902 Miss C. M. Walshaw had moved to 58 Westbourne Grove. George Walshaw died on 18 November 1929. At his funeral four days later the mourners included his son and daughter-in-law, a sister, now Mrs. Blackburn, and her husband, a niece Mrs. Thomas, members of the Old Globe Lodge of Free Masons and other businessmen of Scarborough.⁵

An entry for George Walshaw and Son Nurserymen and Florists appears in the directories until 1935 but Frank Walshaw is not to be found. According to the *Mercury*, shortly after his death the land on which the Crystal Garden stood was sold for building purposes.⁶ Thus the Walshaws, while not having traded as gardeners for a quarter of a millennium, as claimed, had gardened for one-and-a-half centuries and had gardens scattered around the town and district from St. Sepulchre Street to Scalby to Valley Road and were as such a significant force in the business life of Scarborough. In search of wives they went to Somerset, Dublin and Berlin. They were thus adventurous in both their commercial and matrimonial affairs.

The house Crystal Villa remains. The Crystal Garden has gone and so have all the Walshaws.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Brian Berryman, Chris Hall and Trevor Pearson for their help.

References

¹ *The Hearth Tax List for the North Riding of Yorkshire, Michaelmas 1673 Part Four, Ryedale, Pickering Lyth & Scarborough Wapentakes*, Ripon Historical and Ripon, Harrogate & District Family History Group (1991).

² North Yorkshire County Record Office, Registry of Deeds, NRRD AA 494 643.

³ The directories consulted were:

Baines, E. (1822-23), *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York*, Vol. 2 *East and North Ridings*.

White, W. (1840), *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire*.

Kelly (1857), *Yorkshire*.

Kelly (1872), *North and East Yorkshire*.

Kelly (1890), *Directory of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire*.

Bulmer, T. (1890), *History, Topography and Directory of North Yorkshire*.

Bulmer, T. (1892), *History, Topography and Directory of East Yorkshire and Hull*.

Hagyard (1892) *Scarborough, Filey and Neighbouring Villages*.

Kelly (1893), *Directory of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire*.

Smith (1902, 1911, 1912, 1914, 1915, 1921, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1934, 1935, 1936), *Scarborough and neighbouring villages*.

Kelly (1905), *North and East Ridings of Yorkshire includes York and Hull*.

Kelly (1909), *North and East Ridings of Yorkshire*.

Kelly (1913), *Directory of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire and the City of York*.

⁴ The census returns consulted were

Year	Town	Street	Piece No.	Folio No.	Page
1841	Scarborough	King's	1266	13	17-26
1851	Scarborough	King's	2368	421	42
1861	Scarborough	Bleach House Lane	3618	85	2
1871	Scarborough	Washbeck Lane	4817	94-95	4-5

1881	Scarborough	Westwood	4804	108	13
1881	Scarborough	Cromwell Road	4817	94-95	4 5
1891	Scarborough	Westwood	3966	114	29-31
1891	Scarborough	Cromwell Road	3697	57-58	20-22
1901	Scarborough	Cromwell Road	4532	148	35
1901	Birmingham		2860	64	18

⁵ *Scarborough Mercury*, Friday, 22 November 1929.

⁶ *Scarborough Mercury*, Thursday, 16 January 1958.

‘Votes for Women’: Adela Pankhurst and the Scarborough Campaign

By GILLIAN SLEIGHTHOLME

The year 2008 marked an important milestone in the history of Scarborough. Certainly it marks the centenary of the opening of the Marine Drive in August 1908 with a royal visit and all its pomp and ceremony. What may be less well-known is that it also marks the centenary of the founding of the first women’s suffrage group in Scarborough after Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, had addressed a Liberal meeting in the town and Adela Pankhurst, youngest of the three daughters of Emmeline Pankhurst, had organised a week’s suffragette campaign in the town to coincide with Sir Edward’s visit.

Little has been documented about the people involved in the women’s suffrage movement in Scarborough so, in October 2006, I was delighted to attend a talk in Scarborough Library on the north-of-England movement at the start of the twentieth century. The speaker was Jill Liddington, whose book *Rebel Girls* charts the activities of female campaigners across the north of England. Among these she mentioned Adela Pankhurst, the youngest of Emmeline Pankhurst’s three daughters, who had visited Scarborough prior to the General Election of 1910 and stayed to help found a branch of the militant suffragette organisation to which she belonged.

Ms. Liddington felt that the subject of women’s suffrage activities in Scarborough might be ripe for further research so I decided to see whether contemporary sources could reveal something of the history of the local movement before Adela Pankhurst visited the town.

NUWSS and WSPU: The National Background

It soon became clear that no formal group had existed in the town before 1908 although, by this time, the national campaign had established itself firmly in London, the south of England and in the industrial centres of the north. Two major groups were leading the way sharing the same broad aim of achieving equal voting rights for men and women, since ‘For Victorian and Edwardian British women of all classes, gaining the parliamentary vote carried with it additional significance born out of the age. Voting rights represented full and proper status as members of the British nation.’¹

The National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) was the older group, a non-militant movement born of a federation of earlier suffrage societies going back to 1867 when John Stuart Mill had advocated votes for women in the lead-up to the Great Reform Bill. The woman who helped to found the movement in 1897 (and subsequently served as its president from 1907 to 1919) was Millicent Fawcett, or Mrs Henry Fawcett as she was known at the time. Widow of a Liberal MP who had been Postmaster General in Gladstone’s government, Mrs Fawcett was an intelligent, articulate lady dedicated to running a peaceful, legitimate campaign; she favoured quiet persuasion as the best method of convincing others of the justice of her cause. Her followers in the NUWSS, known as suffragists, confined themselves in the main to constitutionally acceptable protests and public speeches. Ironically, it was precisely their determination to adhere to

non-militant means of overturning governmental opposition which made it easy for Parliament to ignore or consistently overturn attempts to gain even the limited measure of votes for women which they sought. Mrs Fawcett was realistic enough to understand that limited aims were more likely to result in victory than proposals for sweeping reforms so she advocated at this time votes for women on the same basis as their male counterparts, namely single or widowed property owners. She declared that women's suffrage would be the culmination of a process of evolution rather than revolution: 'Women's Suffrage will not come ... as an isolated phenomenon ... It will be a political change, not of a very great or extensive character in itself, based upon social, educational and economic changes which have already taken place.'²

Eventually in 1903 the slow, staid methods of the NUWSS, which had proved so woefully inadequate, caused frustration to boil over and led to Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst forming the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) with its telling motto 'Deeds not Words'. Eventually, to distinguish them from their more law-abiding sisters in the NUWSS, her followers were called 'suffragettes' by the *Daily Mail*, 'an intended insult to women ... but it became a title of honour instead' according to Kitty Marion, a leading London suffragette and friend of Christabel Pankhurst.³ A major aim was to achieve publicity for the cause and the main features of their later *modus operandi* are well known: arson, window smashing and hunger strikes.

However in 1908 they had not yet resorted to such extreme measures but were still exploring new forms of public irritant, such as the one used first in 1905 by Christabel Pankhurst when she had deliberately interrupted a speech by Sir Edward Grey in the Manchester Free Trade Hall to demand that he give women the vote. Her subsequent arrest and imprisonment ensured the publicity her movement sought but it soon became clear that more desperate measures would be required in the face of Herbert Asquith's intransigent attitude to the subject of women's suffrage. Prime Minister of the Liberal government, he claimed there was no place in politics for females who were able only to be 'at best amiable companions and uncritical supporters'.⁴ Throughout his time in office he remained firmly convinced of women's 'congenital unsuitability for politics'.⁵ A hundred years ago feelings were running high in both the NUWSS and the WSPU as speakers for both movements did their best to bring the injustice of their position before the public.

Inevitably, however, the actions of the suffragettes resulted in at least as much outrage as sympathy for their cause. The press, locally as well as nationally, was quick to ridicule and condemn them. In February 1908 the *Whitby Gazette* pointed out that 'Women had provided the present parliament with a great deal of food for laughter, especially in the matter of the suffrage bill.' With a certain satisfaction it went on to report that filibustering techniques in the House had been so successful that they had deferred the bill for years to come.⁶ When in October of the same year suffragettes were incited by Mrs Pankhurst (immediately imprisoned for this offence) to 'rush', or break into, the House of Commons, the *Scarborough Mercury*, describing 'the strong cordon of foot and mounted police' awaiting them, asked: 'What could a band of women do against such odds?' When a lone suffragette did manage to penetrate the chamber later that evening the paper did not fail to report the 'Cheers, laughter and cries of "Oh, oh!"' which greeted demands that the speaker should take immediate steps to 'exclude absolutely from the inner or member's lobby during sittings all women'.⁷

Events in Scarborough: October and November 1908

In general the law-abiding NUWSS shared in the condemnation of the way the WSPU operated, though this would not always be the case. One significant defector to Mrs Pankhurst's side was Mrs Fawcett's own sister, Dr Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, who had been one of the first women to qualify as a doctor in 1865 and who became the first woman mayor in England at this time, October 1908. In June that year Elizabeth had joined a WSPU demonstration in London where some members, though not she herself – she was 72 at the time – had flung stones through the windows of Downing Street in a violent protest against Asquith, a militant act which Mrs Fawcett could not condone.⁸ The NUWSS continued to believe that moral force would win the day and went on as before, canvassing for members in the traditional way, touring the country and holding peaceful public meetings to put over reasoned arguments as to why women were as entitled to the vote as men.

The NUWSS, which already had a branch in neighbouring Whitby, was hoping to inaugurate a Scarborough branch where there was already much sympathy with the non-militant methods favoured by their campaign. In 'Ladies Chit-Chat', the women's column of the *Scarborough Mercury*, to which the editor regularly consigned 'women's matters' as though this subject were somehow on a par with seasonal recipes and hints on the latest fashions, readers learned that: 'The women of Scarborough, at least a section of them, are determined not to be behind in the agitation for votes for women but up to the present the town has not been made notorious by having any Suffragette languishing in Holloway Gaol for the sake of her convictions.' The writer explained that the Scarborough suffragists were 'non-militant by which description they distinguish themselves from the shrieking, ramping women who cause so much disturbance on every possible occasion'. At its inaugural meeting, scheduled for early November 1908, the fledgling Scarborough group would be addressed by none other than the union's illustrious national president, Mrs Fawcett herself, and the writer emphasised the peaceful manner in which it was hoped future meetings would be conducted: 'Many people are very much opposed to women's suffrage simply because of the idiotic way in which the militant suffragettes carry on their campaign so that it is thought by the non-militant suffragists that if they hold quiet and orderly meetings much may be done to induce these people to look upon the idea of women voters in a more favourable light than they do at present.'⁹

Mrs Fawcett herself was becoming a nationally famous and convincing speaker, 'formidable because indefatigable and intellectually tough'¹⁰, so it was with an air of excitement that 'Ladies' Chit-Chat' announced that although the president's impending visit to Scarborough would have to be postponed because her presence was required 'at a very important conference in regard to the suffrage movement in London', they could look forward to welcoming her in December 'Mrs Fawcett is a clever woman and a great personality' ran the article, 'and it will be a keen pleasure for all interested in the subject of votes for women to listen to her ... She herself has written several books on political economy and also "A Life of Queen Victoria"'. The columnist went on to note that the inaugural meeting would also be addressed by Mrs Rea, the suffragist wife of Walter Rea, the liberal MP for Scarborough and a popular figure in her own right, commenting that Lady Gibb of Scarborough, who was to figure largely in the local branch of the NUWSS, was Mrs Fawcett's niece.¹¹ Lady Gibb and her daughter presented the branch

with an ornate banner they had embroidered which was first displayed at the meeting Mrs Fawcett eventually addressed in February 1909.¹²

The president of the NUWSS was not the only national figure due to speak in Scarborough during the autumn of 1908. Another important event was announced at the Women's Liberal Association's conference held in the town in October. On 18 November, little more than a week after Mrs Fawcett's expected arrival, Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, was due to address a Liberal meeting at the Londesborough Theatre, a popular venue for events likely to attract large crowds.¹³ This would have been publicised as an event of national importance, Sir Edward being a leading representative of the Liberal government of the day.

However, given the increasing unrest caused by that government's opposition to women's suffrage, there were fears in the local Liberal party that the event might attract unwelcome attention. Both Walter Rea, the MP, and Evelyn, his wife, spoke on the issue at the October conference of the Women's Liberal Association held in Scarborough. In 'a masterly exposition of the Women's Suffrage movement' Mrs Rea showed firmness as well as a certain sympathy with the actions of the suffragettes. However, she made clear that although she could not condone their actions, yet '... the latter may have thought it the best way of bringing their claims to the Government ... She thought their tactics were wrong and hoped that no attempt to wreck Sir Edward Grey's meeting in Scarborough next month.'¹⁴ Her concerns were echoed in 'Jottings', the editorial column of the *Scarborough Mercury*, of the same issue when the militant methods of the suffragettes were described as nothing more than '... petticoat hooliganism, or, as Mr Lloyd George describes it, stupid rowdyism.' The article probably summed up the attitude of many readers when it concluded that: 'Everyone will agree that a cause, good or bad, cannot be respected if those who seek to advance it behave in a disreputable way.'¹⁵

Adela Pankhurst in Scarborough 13–20 November 1908

In the event neither of the two events planned for November took place exactly as planned. Owing to pressing commitments at the London headquarters of the NUWSS, Mrs Fawcett was obliged to postpone her address to Scarborough suffragists until December whilst Sir Edward Grey's speech proved a target too hard to resist for the WSPU. A public address by a high-profile government minister would provide a perfect opportunity to disrupt proceedings and gain much-needed publicity for the cause. Just before his impending visit Adela Pankhurst was campaigning in Sheffield. Although she was still only 23, she had been running the WSPU's northern campaign for some time on the orders of her mother who, with her two elder daughters, the lawyer Christabel and the artist Sylvia, was concentrating her campaign on London and the south of England. While Emmeline and Christabel were imprisoned in Holloway Prison for their part in inciting the 'rush' on the House of Commons on 13 October 1908, Adela was taking part a fortnight later in a demonstration in Sheffield where she was subjected to some rough handling by the police when she attempted to get into the city's Cutlers' Hall to confront Reginald McKenna, the first Lord of the Admiralty, with her clarion call of 'Votes for Women'. Although she suffered bruises and exhaustion in the scuffles, 'Adela remained willing to lay down almost life itself as she hurled herself heroically into the fray, oblivious to the bruising of her own body.'¹⁶ Young though she was she was already 'a powerful open-air orator who could hold and run the rowdy Edwardian crowd'.¹⁷ Her

forte, as her Scarborough audiences would learn, was her talent to amuse; once when a heckler in Bradford shouted: 'If you were my wife I'd give you a dose of poison', she retorted cheerfully: 'No need of that, my friend! If I were your wife I'd take it!'¹⁸

It was probably now, at the end of October, on hearing of Sir Edward Grey's imminent arrival in Scarborough that she began to organise a surprise visit of her own to coincide. If Sir Edward heard rumours of this he must have groaned inwardly to think that yet another Pankhurst sister was preparing to interrupt another of his public addresses. It must also be said that he was in some ways an unfair target because over the years he had proved himself to be 'a Liberal suffragist with impeccable credentials in imperial and foreign affairs'¹⁹, not to mention the fact that he had been a frequent visitor to the Pankhursts' 'At Homes' in Russell Square some years previously. It seems to have been typical of the WSPU that they chose their targets indiscriminately, failing to confine their attacks to 'opponents of women's enfranchisement on both Liberal and Conservative front benches'.²⁰ It is not surprising that this policy created a certain amount of alienation from their movement.

Friday, 13 November 1908

If Adela had heard of Mrs Rea's concerns with regard to the possible disruption of Sir Edward Grey's address to the Liberal meeting and of the general disapproval with which the WSPU was viewed in Scarborough, she must have been undeterred because on Friday 13 November she descended on the town 'with a detachment of the militant suffragettes'²¹ and 'paraded the streets with sandwich boards which were scrolled the [words of] the well-known battle cry "Votes for Women"'. Her first public meeting was in Newham's Yard off Victoria Road, a well-used outdoor venue for public meetings.²² At this meeting 'the proceedings were of a lively character but good humour prevailed.'

What emerges from the report is a genuine sense of admiration for this slightly built young woman and her ability to handle interruptions 'very smartly and with considerable effect',²³ even though she was speaking for nearly two hours. Her response to questions at the end 'would have done credit to an old platform hand' while she managed with little difficulty to make her voice heard above the noise of the crowd. She concentrated on 'the cardinal Liberal principle that representation should follow taxation' and justified the militant tactics of the WSPU on the grounds that these were identical to the tactics used by men in the past to force the government to do their will. 'In 1832, 1867 and 1884 men did what women were doing now - they disturbed the political meetings and when they could not get into the meetings by fair means they forged the tickets.' To Adela, it seems, the end justified any means.

As she looked forward to her own confrontation with Sir Edward Grey she was fully aware that suffragettes would not be the only ones to interrupt proceedings 'but she felt sure that suffragettes would be the only persons to be thrown out', showing she knew from bitter experience the methods the stewards and police would employ.

She ended her address by throwing down the gauntlet to the organisers of Sir Edward's Thursday meeting, declaring defiantly that, although she and her colleagues could only obtain tickets if they pledged not to interrupt the meeting, 'they would break that pledge. It was the only means they had of bringing their demand for votes before responsible

members of the government.' (It was on this point in particular that the Scarborough suffragists were to take issue with her later.)

Monday, 16 November

On Monday afternoon Adela spoke to another meeting 'at the junction of Esplanade Road and the Esplanade'. Probably because of her diminutive stature she spoke from a cab to address 'a very fair attendance, ladies predominating'. The points she made were similar to those she had outlined the previous Friday and once again it was the male members of the audience, not suffragettes, who provided the noisy interruptions. There is another hint of admiration for Adela's wit as shown by 'her usual innocent jokes at the expense of the police and the reporters. She had "sized up" the latter to a nicety' and emphasised their one-sided reporting, claiming they took no notice of wise words 'but no sooner does a boy in the gallery shout "Chuck her out!" or someone throws a rotten egg, than they are all energy and their pencils begin to work frantically.'

Tuesday, 17 November

On the following day, Tuesday, 17 October, despite Adela's promise to the police, chalked notices began to appear on pavements in the town advertising a suffragette meeting at St Martin's Grammar School. This meeting however turned out to be a hoax, the chalked notices having apparently been intended as a 'practical joke'.

It was the Tuesday evening meeting that provided the *Mercury* reporter with his best copy. 'Pandemonium in Newham's Yard' proclaimed the headline, though the disturbances were caused by rowdy elements in the crowd rather than by the suffragettes as might have been supposed. For two hours Adela had to face hostile interruptions from a noisy section of the crowd who seemed to find her attempts to speak hugely entertaining. They even resorted to sounding motor horns to drown her voice.

'Victory was with the Big Battalions' announced the next headline, describing how the few stewards who were supposed to be controlling the meeting retired, 'discretion being the better part of valour', and left the floor to the opposition 'in groups of nearly 50 strong.' The situation was becoming menacing at this stage: 'Men were fighting and others singing while young lads and women were cowering near the wall endeavouring to keep out of danger.' Adela struggled on until 10.00 pm when she 'saw the futility of continuing the demonstration and left'. The crowd was baying at her heels as she and her colleagues were escorted down Cambridge Street by the police who then formed a line across the top of the road to prevent the crowd following her. Unabashed the pursuers surged down Barwick Street to catch the suffragettes on Prospect Road where they were making for the house of a Mr Stubbs. If the crowd expected further scenes there they were disappointed. Adela did not reappear, but she had shown her opponents that she certainly had courage and tenacity in the face of adversity.

Wednesday, 18 October

Adela was also astute enough to realise that she could get her message across much more effectively in more orderly circumstances so she had booked the Londesborough Theatre for the evening of Wednesday, 18 October, the day before Sir Edward Grey would speak at the same venue. By now the events of the week as charted by the suffragettes were building to a climax so it was a much larger group which turned out that evening to hear Adela argue the case for women's suffrage. An unruly crowd had gathered outside a good half hour before the meeting was due to start and got through the police barricade to block the theatre entrance so that bona fide members of the audience who had paid for their tickets could not get through and had to use the entrance through the Londesborough Vaults. Despite the entry restrictions (the only free places being for ladies who were sent up to the gallery) the meeting was infiltrated by some opponents 'who deeply resented the disorderly methods ... pursued by her militant associates in the movement' and who made their views felt using the very methods they decried, namely heckling and interrupting.

The Liberal *Mercury* devoted much of its coverage to political sniping at the Tories, a good number of whom could be found in the audience, and made much of the fact that the meeting was chaired by a prominent local Tory, Alderman Valentine Fowler, who had been Mayor until a few weeks previously. In some indignation the reporter noted that 'the Tories were quite in their element at the meeting for there was much spicey (sic) abuse of Liberalism ... and never a wrong word about the Tory party' and this, he added, after 10 years of Tory government during which time the suffragettes were 'still without their hearts' desire'. Alderman Fowler defended his position by reminding the audience that he 'had advocated votes for women 24 years previously' and went on to attack the Liberal government for their policy of jailing female political prisoners. For himself 'he had always advocated that taxation and representation should go together' and pointed to the injustice of the situation in which many Scarboroughs, presumably an allusion to female property owners, found they had to pay taxes but had no say in how the taxes were spent.

Conceding at the outset that what it called 'Miss Pankhurst's Stirring Meeting' was nowhere near as rowdy as the meeting in Newham's Yard the previous day, the report gave credit to the young speaker for 'a platform experience and a capacity altogether belying her years' noting that she succeeded in being heard largely 'through her own ability to control a meeting'. Adela had to contend with the usual interruptions as well as several stink-bombs while again outlining the case for women's suffrage and seeking to justify the militant tactics employed by the WSPU. These were the fault of Mr Asquith and others like him who had been unmoved by earlier peaceful protests and whose attitude consequently forced the suffragettes 'to shout "Votes for Women" especially where Cabinet Ministers were present to bring their cause before the public and the Ministry'. When a stink bomb exploded, releasing 'some noxious chemical' Adela was applauded with laughter when she remarked that, even if the suffragettes were to interrupt Sir Edward's speech the next day, 'they should not disturb it by methods so despicable as those'. Even when another stink bomb was thrown she begged the audience to let the incident pass but commented ruefully that this 'would be the only part of the meeting the journalists would take any notice of'. She was probably happily surprised if she read the *Scarborough Mercury* to see her address reported almost verbatim, including her justification of militant methods and her indignation that women political prisoners who

were only agitating for a Liberal principle were thrown in jail and treated like cases of 'drunk and disorderly'.

In conclusion she said her purpose in Scarborough was to carry on the protest against the Government. 'She claimed the right to ... challenge Sir Edward Grey to show why the Government had sent the women to prison rather than giving them the vote' and restated her pledge to get in to the meeting by lying about keeping silent. At this point a voice interrupted her to ask why she did not try to see Sir Edward privately to which she retorted, to renewed applause, that 'Sir Edward Grey was a public servant and a public place was the place to see him'. After thanking the audience for their support which had covered all the WSPU expenses here and 'given her a profit to send to the national treasurer', she exclaimed, 'You've been so splendid ... that I must tell my mother when she comes out of prison that she really must come to Scarborough and speak to you (Loud applause)'.

After the meeting she managed to get away quickly and quietly, using the theatre's stage door at the back, to avoid the crowds still waiting in Westborough and was driven in a waiting cab 'at a smart pace by way of Somerset Terrace, Westwood Road, over the bridge crossing the railway, and so on to the street where she is staying'. The writer could not resist adding ironically that 'nothing transpired of a character which, as Miss Pankhurst with her native wit would no doubt say, as she is fond of doing in her concern for their well being, appealed to the instinct of the reporters for "copy".'

Thursday, 19 November

Outside the Londesborough Theatre before Sir Edward Grey's Address

Copy of an interesting nature was to prove harder to come by the following evening when both the police and the stewards from the Liberal Association conspired to make forcible entry into the Londesborough Theatre almost impossible. The reporter had to dwell therefore on the commotion caused by the suffragettes outside the theatre before and after the speeches inside because, 'despite the garrulous threats of a party of militant suffragettes',²⁴ no real disruption occurred during the meeting.

On this particular occasion, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey was to give an address on both European and domestic matters in the presence of many of the most eminent people in Scarborough, including the town's Member of Parliament, Walter Rea, and two former Members, Joshua Rowntree and Sir George Sitwell, all of whom would be speaking during the evening.

Needless to say a large audience was attracted to the event which had both social and political importance. The reserved tickets had been sold out days previously and the officials of the Liberal Association had seen to it that people were seated comfortably with no undue overcrowding. At 7.00 pm when the theatre opened its doors 'all the unreserved seats were quickly filled' leaving many people disappointed, presumably mingling with the crowds who had gathered outside in the hope of witnessing the scenes of protest threatened 'if the militant ladies were refused admittance'. It is not clear why Adela did not do as she had promised and buy an entry ticket, pretending to give a pledge not to interrupt. As it transpired, it seems she never gained admittance to the proceedings for she was frustrated in an attempt to 'rush the front entrance to the theatre' with 20 of

her suffragette colleagues when the police barred her way. Undaunted, she used the opportunity to address the waiting throng from the steps of the Liberal Club (now The Lord Rosebery) over the road.

Sir Edward Grey's Repudiation of Suffragette Tactics

Meanwhile, inside the theatre, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs rose to deliver an address 'as statesmanlike as it was impressive' on both European and domestic matters. Although there were only two interruptions while he spoke, they obviously irritated him and caused him to condemn the suffragettes' tactics in an unscheduled addendum to his speech. He was first interrupted early on when he used the word 'force' with reference to foreign affairs and a woman's voice piped up 'Why do you force women to pay taxes when they have no vote?' Ignoring this he continued to speak but later, when he had turned to domestic affairs and begun to discuss the Licensing Bill, the same voice called out 'When is the government going to give votes to women?'. This time Sir Edward, without directly addressing the person who had interrupted him, raised his voice and promised to add some comments 'about the present position of the suffrage question' before ending his speech. This he did in no uncertain terms, wondering archly if there was a serious desire for him to express his own opinion on the subject since 'the desire is shown in some peculiar fashion', an allusion to the earlier gratuitous interruptions. He then astutely separated the question of women's suffrage from the methods used by the suffragettes to promote it, commenting on the 'unreasonable and impossible way' in which 'a certain number of people have brought it before the country'. He urged the meeting not to dismiss the question just because a lawless minority had brought it into disrepute; to do so would be unfair to a wider majority. Sympathy with the cause did not allow him to agree with the unconstitutional methods by which the suffragettes sought to achieve it. His argument would be echoed by two lady speakers at the end of the meeting and lay the foundations of the Scarborough branch of the NUWSS.

He himself, he continued, tellingly using the past tense, used to have 'considerable sympathy with the agitation for women's suffrage' but this was waning, he implied, since it seemed that the olive branch held out by Mr Asquith in May was being ignored by the protesters. Explaining this he urged his audience to recall that shortly after the Prime Minister came to office in May of that year, 1908, he had announced 'that before the Government left office, the House of Commons would be given an effective opportunity of pronouncing its opinion' on the suffrage question. He did not mention that all Asquith had actually said was that 'a reform bill would be introduced before the end of Parliament which would not include women's suffrage but be open to amendment' and that he had added the rider that such an amendment would 'need the overwhelming support of the women of the country no less than the men'.²⁵ His reasoning would have rung hollow to the suffragettes who doubtless realised that they would have to wait until 1913 if this government ran its seven-year term of office.

Sir Edward condemned emphatically the tactic of using 'petty personal annoyances' to make people change their mind on important political issues and 'prevent the discussion of other questions in public'. (Many in the meeting must have agreed with him for there were several bouts of cheering as he spoke.) This type of behaviour, he concluded 'has been doing nothing but harm' to the cause and he warned protesters that, if they ignored the Government's promise of a review before this parliament left office, then they would

be asking for 'what is neither reasonable nor fair and they must prejudice their case in the public's estimation (Loud and continued applause).' On this unequivocal note he sat down and Joshua Rowntree rose to propose a vote of thanks which was seconded by Sir George Sitwell. Neither of these gentlemen mentioned the women's suffrage question nor the interruptions that evening, choosing diplomatically to joke about their former rivalry as candidates in successive parliamentary elections in Scarborough when Joshua Rowntree had stood for the Liberals against Sir George Sitwell representing the Conservatives. Tonight both were members of the Liberal party and were warmly congratulated for their contributions to the town by Sir Edward in his reply to the vote of thanks.

He was thanked in his turn by Mrs Alderson-Smith, the President of the Women's Liberal Association (whose husband Mr G Alderson-Smith had retired in May 1907 after 10 years as President of Scarborough Liberal Association).²⁶ She began by commenting pointedly that even 'if they believed in women's suffrage ... they, as women, realised that there were times and places when their opinions were not required (Laughter and applause.)' After congratulating Mr Rea for 'the tact and efficiency' he had shown in presiding over the meeting, she praised his 'conscientious and unremitting labours for the benefit of Scarborough during the last three years' and hoped that 'Mrs Rea's name might be coupled with that of Mr Rea', a wish applauded by the meeting who clearly held the MP's wife in high esteem.

In reply Mrs Rea echoed Sir Edward's repudiation of the antisocial tactics used by the WSPU. She recalled her words to the Women's Liberal Association in October when she had admitted to having sympathy with the cause even if she found some of the methods used by the suffragettes objectionable. At that time she had admired the strength of their convictions and been prepared to compromise her own beliefs to some extent. Now, however, they had gone too far by taking the pledge not to disrupt meetings and then deliberately breaking it. This she felt was a slur on the honour of women and she could not agree with the argument that 'All's fair in love and war' since, as she pointed out, even in war some things were simply not done, for example 'it was considered wicked to poison the wells of [the] enemy's country.' In her eyes 'the suffragettes had poisoned the wells of truth' and she concluded with a flourish saying that though she was still convinced that women had the right to a vote 'if it was to be bought at the price of woman's honour and truth, then [it] could be too dearly bought.'

The End of the Evening

When the meeting inside the theatre was drawing to a close 'the militant ladies', resourceful as ever, 'executed a strategic movement to the rear', a battle plan which took them to the back door of the theatre approached via Somerset Terrace. No doubt they hoped that the stewards would try to spirit Sir Edward away as Adela had been the previous evening and it would have been their intention to prevent his escape by crowding round the stage door. This time it was harder for the police to block their way, given the strength of the 'pushing and jostling crowd' behind them, but in the end the suffragettes and their supporters were forced to disperse well before Sir Edward did in fact emerge from the stage door in the company of Walter Rea. (This exit might have been chosen as much for the minister's convenience as for his protection since it was a quick route to 7 The Crescent, Mr Rea's Scarborough residence, where Sir Edward was

to spend the night.) Leaving nothing to chance, however, the police provided an escort of 'the Chief Constable and three uniform men' but this proved unnecessary 'because by this time Somerset Terrace had been cleared and the only people who witnessed the Foreign Secretary's departure were the few who happened to be leaving the theatre by the same way at that time.'

As Sir Edward's party was leaving quietly from the back of the theatre there was a rumpus going on at the front where a suffragette was causing a scene 'on the hill leading from Westborough to Albemarle Crescent'. In point of fact the commotion was caused more by the crowd than by the suffragette because some of them had seized the rear wheels of a cab she was trying to enter with the result that it rolled back down the hill where the cabman fell off and she was pulled out of the vehicle. Only when two of her friends rushed to her aid was she able to be driven away.

The Immediate Outcome of the Suffragette Campaign

Since Adela was not present in the theatre to orchestrate the interruptions it is perhaps not surprising that there were so few. The *Mercury* report noted 'one or two gentle calls of 'Votes for Women' but no-one made herself a nuisance and no-one was turned out'. When it was all over the police were able to report that, since there were no injuries sustained and no arrests made, 'on the whole everything passed off very well', an opinion which the suffragettes concerned cannot have shared as the only publicity gained within the theatre was negative since they had provoked the indignation not only of a government minister but of two of the leading suffragists in Scarborough.

The first suffragette campaign in Scarborough can therefore be said to have been a failure in immediate terms since Sir Edward Grey's speech, the chief target, passed without the dramatic scenes of interruption and arrest which would have ensured vital press publicity.

The Formation of the Scarborough Branch of the NUWSS

Those in Scarborough who supported a law-abiding campaign to gain women the vote realised now that it was vital to harness sympathy for their cause with all possible speed before reaction to recent disruptive suffragette tactics drowned any latent support for their cause and led people to view them all indiscriminately, suffragists and suffragettes alike, as troublemakers who did not show themselves to be fit for the vote.

Such an attitude would play straight into the hands of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League which had been formed in July 1908 to promote women's unsuitability for politics since its followers believed that men and women came from vastly different spheres and should not meddle in each other's business. Law-making, in their eyes, was the domain of men while home-making was the forte of women. Even as late as 1913 the Head of the Department of Anthropology at Chicago University was still warning that the suffrage campaign in Britain was unnatural and urging men to 'resolve to put females back in the position of inferiority to which they rightly belong', maintaining to have found proof of his claim in the vegetable kingdom where 'the elements of sex superiority were fixed and ... woman cannot overcome them'!²⁷

As 1908 drew to a close, therefore, time was of the essence if a successful attempt was to be made to found a local branch of the NUWSS, so, when Mrs Fawcett's visit was postponed yet again, this time until February 1909, her local supporters decided to go ahead on their own and organised an 'At Home' at the Royal Hotel on 11 December with a view to setting up the Scarborough branch.²⁸

Already, only a week after Adela Pankhurst's departure from the town, 'Marie' (the pseudonym of the writer of 'Ladies' Chit-Chat') issued a call to arms to 'the many women in Scarborough who are really in earnest in their desire for the enfranchisement of women' but who could not condone 'violence and disorder' as a justifiable means to this end. It was vital therefore, 'Marie' urged, to take immediate steps to found 'a local branch of the national Union of Women's Suffrage Societies ... with the object of counteracting the harm done by the shrieking sisterhood'.²⁹

An 'At Home' may seem a refined form for such an inaugural meeting but it must be recalled that, here in Scarborough as elsewhere nationally, those in a position to contribute to the task were, in the first instance, people of private means who could provide the funds required and who also had the leisure, and often the transport, to attend the meetings. It is difficult to see how ordinary working women would have gained access to this circle especially as some events seemed almost designed to exclude them, for example the invitation to 'a garden meeting in Cloughton', an afternoon event which working women would not be free to attend.³⁰ A similar phenomenon occurred when the WSPU decreed that its members should wear uniform. Working women would not have the money to spare let alone the time or the facilities to journey to demonstrations so any woman wishing to support this cause would have to come from a privileged background since she would need to rely on 'either a private income, the support of her parents or subsidies from sympathisers'.³¹

The first meeting of the new branch of the NUWSS on 11 December was addressed by a prominent suffrage speaker, Isabella Ford, whose services they had been lucky to obtain at such short notice. (She herself was a woman of independent means having been born into one of the 'elite families of Leeds' whose seat was at Adel Grange.³²) Lady Ida Sitwell became president of the Scarborough branch with Mrs Alderson-Smith, leader of the Women's Liberal Association, as vice-president. (There is no mention of Lady Ida's daughter, Edith Sitwell, who would have been 21 at the time.) The branch counted amongst its members not only the local Member of Parliament and his wife – both Mr and Mrs Rea had written letters of support though they could not attend the inaugural meeting – but also Mrs A. M. Daniel whose husband, Augustus Moore Daniel, would become mayor in 1913,³³ Lady Gibb and Mrs Joshua Rowntree.

The *Scarborough Mercury* deemed the meeting to be of sufficient importance to merit a report in its news columns as well as in 'Ladies' Chit-Chat'. What the latter referred to as 'a charming little speech' by the vice-president, Mrs Alderson-Smith, was quoted almost in full earlier in the same issue. Though seeking the vote only for 'all women who paid rent' she had emphasised the advantages of forming 'in Scarborough a large and vigorous branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' which would be non-militant and non-political and serve the 'strong body of women who were keenly anxious for the franchise' in Scarborough as in every town.³⁴

Little over a month later 'Marie' in 'Ladies' Chit-Chat' could report that founding the branch had been 'a wise step' since 'it can already boast the satisfactory number of 85 members'.³⁵ At the first meeting, the group's secretary, Miss Kitson, had been relieved to report that she already had 30 names on the list and remarked that this had been achieved 'without any effort on anybody's part. Like Topsy, that branch "wasn't ever born - it grewed!"'.³⁶

Mrs Fawcett's long-awaited visit eventually took place on 5 February 1909 when, like Sir Edward Grey and Adela Pankhurst some nine weeks earlier, she delivered a stirring address in the Londesborough Theatre.³⁷ Much remains to be written about the impact of her speech, the future activities of the Scarborough members of the NUWSS, their clash with the branch of the Anti-Suffrage league formed some months later and their relationship with the branch of the WSPU, which Adela Pankhurst later returned to establish.³⁸ These topics form the basis of future research.

The fact remains, however, that research has clearly shown that Adela Pankhurst spent time in Scarborough a good year before her visit in the run-up to the January General Election of 1910, when, true to her promise, she persuaded her mother, Emmeline, to speak in Scarborough. At the end of 1908, however, ironically, instead of inspiring the formation of a local WSPU group, her visit had had the effect of precipitating the foundation of the Scarborough branch of the NUWSS, the centenary of whose inaugural meeting falls in December 2008. This article is submitted as a tribute to all those who fought for 'Votes for Women' in Scarborough, a target eventually achieved 20 years later when universal adult suffrage was introduced.

If any readers have information regarding local suffragists or suffragettes and would be willing to share this with me I should be very pleased to hear from them.

Gillian Sleightholme
74 Holbeck Hill
Scarborough
North Yorkshire YO11 3BW
Tel: 01723 370528; e-mail: mrsg.sleightholme@btinternet.com

References

- ¹ Claire Eustance, *A Suffrage Reader. Charting Directions in British Suffrage History* (Leicester University Press, 2000), p. 4.
 - ² Martin Pugh, *The March of the Women. A Revisionist Analysis of the Campaign for Women's Suffrage, 1866 - 1914* (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 63.
 - ³ Max Arthur, *Lost Voices of the Edwardians* (London, 2006), p. 370.
 - ⁴ Martin Pugh, *The March of the Women*, p. 139.
 - ⁵ Martin Pugh, *The Pankhursts* (London, 2001), p. 14.
 - ⁶ *Whitby Gazette*, 'Laughter in Parliament', 7 February 1908, p. 7.
 - ⁷ *Scarborough Mercury* (hereafter SM), Failure of Attempt to 'Rush Parliament', 16 October 1908, p. 3.
 - ⁸ Fran Abrams, *Freedom's Cause: Lives of the Suffragettes* (London 2003), p. 188.
 - ⁹ SM, 16 October 1908, p. 5.
 - ¹⁰ Pugh, *The March of the Women*, p. 13.
 - ¹¹ SM, 6 November 1908, p. 3.
 - ¹² SM, 12 February 1909, p. 9.
- ³The fact that such famous entertainers as Oscar Wilde, Charles Hallé and Lily Langtry had all performed there is testimony to Scarborough's celebrity at the time.

- ¹⁴ *SM*, 9 October 1908, p. 5.
- ¹⁵ *SM*, 9 October 1908, p. 10.
- ¹⁶ Jill Liddington, *Rebel Girls*, (London, 2006), p. 221.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31. (This exchange is also attributed to Winston Churchill and Nancy Astor after she had taken up her seat in the House of Commons in 1919, which was many years after Adela used the riposte. See Dominique Enright, *The Wicked Wit of Winston Churchill* (London, 2001), p.103.)
- ¹⁹ Pugh, *The March of the Women*, p. 99.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 190.
- ²¹ *SM*, 20 November 1908, p. 3.
- ²² Newham's Yard was situated where Hardwick's bus station used to be and is now the site of Postgate House flats. See *Scarborough Evening News* 19 March 1975. Thanks to Bryan Berryman for this information.
- ²³ *SM*, 20 November 1908, p. 3. This reference applies to all subsequent quotations concerning Adela's activities in Scarborough from 13 to 18 November 1908 until otherwise indicated.
- ²⁴ *SM*, 20 November 1908, p. 6. This reference applies to all subsequent quotations concerning Sir Edward Grey's speech and its reception in the theatre until otherwise indicated.
- ²⁵ Pugh, *The Pankhursts*, p. 176, quoting *The Times* 21 May 1908.
- ²⁶ *SM*, 3 January 1908, p. 7.
- ²⁷ *The Scarborough Pictorial*, 20 August 1913, p. 11.
- ²⁸ *SM*, 18 December 1908, p. 2.
- ²⁹ *SM*, 27 November 1908, p. 5.
- ³⁰ *SM*, 26 March 1909, p. 6.
- ³¹ Pugh, *The March of the Women*, p. 214.
- ³² Liddington, p. 10.
- ³³ *SM*, 18 December 1908, p. 2.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ *SM*, 29 January 1909, p. 9.
- ³⁶ *SM*, 18 December 1908, p. 2.
- ³⁷ *SM*, 12 February 1909, p. 9.
- ³⁸ Liddington, p. 225.

The Scarborough Community Archive Network

By MARK VESEY

At school I hated history. As teenagers we used to see how fast we could make the temporary history supply teacher burst into tears and leave the room. I lived in London for 40 years and only saw the traffic, fumes and busy pavements. I never really appreciated the amazing history of our capital beneath my feet. When I moved to Scarborough five years ago, all that changed. As we were unpacking our removal van I was reading Jack Binns' *The History of Scarborough*. I became fascinated by the story of this little town on the Yorkshire coast. Within a year of our arrival, my wife had secured a job at the Rotunda with the Local Heroes Project. She met Rowena Marsden¹, who invited me to my first Archaeological and Historical Society meeting.

That first lecture was by John Rushton² talking enthusiastically about some of North Yorkshire's villages. The meeting was followed by refreshments at the Alma Inn and I was hooked. After joining the SAHS committee we began earnest discussions about the lack of an archive in Scarborough. There were rumours that the borough council's museum store in Londesborough Lodge³ was too damp and dangerous to work in, that the Woodend Museum⁴ was going to close and that anything donated was either sent off to the county archive in Northallerton or never seen again.

Faced with these realities, John Rushton discovered the Commanet electronic archive system, used by small community groups across the UK, to scan and store photographs and oral history. We applied for Heritage Lottery Funding and managed to purchase the Commanet software, web hosting, laptop, scanner and camera.

History of the Commanet Programme

The Commanet programme began as an empty A4 folder next to a photocopier in a local library in Batley near Leeds. Local residents were encouraged to bring in their photographs, copy and leave them, along with their stories about the history of their town and their families. The project was developed as technology improved and became more affordable. The Commanet software is based around Microsoft's Access database and is now in use by over 60 local history community groups in the UK and several in Germany and Canada. Commanet is a not for profit organisation.

Capture it before it Disappears

Most people, when you ask them, say 'Oh I've got nothing interesting to say', but there are countless human stories rooted in a time and a place. Those recollections offer glimpses of our past, what we have in common and what makes each of us, our town and the era we live in, completely unique. Unfortunately, many of these stories never get recorded and just fade away. They all have some historical significance, no matter how small or insignificant they may seem at the time.

By creating a local archive, the community can rediscover the people and events that have shaped the past and led to the present. Recording these diverse and dispersed

records into a central accessible place means that they can be shared with friends, family, neighbours and others who are interested in history. Finally, simply entering one's own personal story can be potentially therapeutic, as is reading other peoples' stories which give an insight into different ways of living.

The Scarborough Community Archive Network began as a small group of SAHS members who met with one of Commanet's founders, Geoff Clout, for initial training and advice. The software and website can store thousands of photographs, scanned documents, written and oral recordings as well as short video clips.

The on-line database is searchable and interlinking using 'hot spots'⁵. It serves as a basic archive for a local community's cultural heritage. The database can also be copied onto a CD-ROM. The three distinctive characteristics of a community archive are:

- the community creates its own archive;
- the community has editorial control over its archive;
- the community owns the copyright of its archive.

The Heritage Lottery Fund supports these projects, not only to save our heritage, but also because they can promote understanding, tolerance and respect between generations and between diverse social, ethnic and cultural communities. They enable communities to record and share their heritage, and this encourages active citizenship within society. Another aspect is to encourage lifelong learning and training in ICT skills. The benefits to communities from these types of projects have been identified as social, educational, cultural, creative, health, and economic.

Participants in the project are rather coldly referred to as 'donors' and it is made clear to them that they are agreeing to the use of a digital copy of their document or photograph and that they retain the original and the copyright to that original. The donors are made aware that once the digital copy is published on the Internet it can then be accessed, downloaded and printed out by anyone in the world. The restrictions of use to educational, research, public performance and not-for-profit purposes are clearly stated and each donor signs a copyright release form.

Each record entry is given a caption, date and then listed in the following broad categories, which break down into smaller sub categories: people, landscapes, buildings, transport, events, work, sports, objects, documents, locations and others. With the details assigned to every record it should be retrievable by searching under many different headings and cross references.

The Scarborough Community Archive

The Scarborough group began by sending letters to retirement homes, community groups and the local media to publicise the project. One of the first donors in 2006 was the widow of Kenneth Clegg who passed on his collection of historic slides of Scarborough. The database currently has 57 donors and nearly 500 photographs. Volunteers have put in 300 hours of work and over 420 people have come into contact with the project through donations or lectures.

Some fascinating developments have come out of the project. I had a meeting with another local history enthusiast, Charles Braithwaite. I asked him to try and identify a photograph and this led on to him sharing his own personal story of growing up in Edgehill and working at the old British Rail parcels office in Gallows Close.

Mrs Grace Bremner⁶ contacted us from a retirement home and shared her story of growing up with the Wesleyan Methodists. She vividly remembered going out in the street as a little girl in her pyjamas when the Germans shelled Scarborough in 1915.

Edward Morris,⁷ of the Anchorage Club on Sandside, kindly allowed us to copy the historic photographs of old Scarborough which covered the walls of his establishment.

Allan Parker, who ran the last marine boatyard in Scarborough, donated some of the unique photographs of the boat building and repair work he has carried out over the last 30 years.

Christine Bristow still works for the Women's Royal Voluntary Service in Scarborough and shared with us her box of archives. There are some wonderful pictures and reports on the work they did from the 1940s onward.

Jason Marshall is the son of Henry Marshall whose amusement arcades run along Scarborough seafront. There are not many men who can say their great grandfather was an elephant trainer and their great grandmother a sword swallower.

Another interesting contribution was from Mr Bert Seymour whose great great grandfather took stereoscopic photographs of Scarborough. Even with today's technology we could not replicate these so we have scanned one into the database in its natural form. For the others we have taken only one side of the image. Mr Seymour supplied us with a transcript of a tape he made of his-father-in law, Mr Wilf Sherwood, in 1983. The transcript starts:

Every good story begins 'Once upon a time . . .' and in my case the time was the twenty sixth of April, in the year 1893, when a good proportion of the map of the world was printed in red, and the 'Widow of Windsor' was still firmly on the throne. I first saw the light of day in a bedroom above my father's open-fronted blacksmith's shop at 121 Falsgrave Road, Scarborough, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. I remember, as a very small boy, watching my father shoe horses in the forecourt, and cringing as the red-hot shoes were brought up, held in long-handled tongs, to bed into the upraised hoofs. As I write, I can hear the hiss as the hot shoe touched the foot, and see and smell the cloud of acrid smoke that arose. I used to marvel at the skill with which the nails were driven through the horny hoof, and their points clenched over with a deft twist of the hammer claws.

Eileen Smith contacted us about her complete archive of Scarborough Open Air Theatre programmes that she keeps in her airing cupboard. She sang and performed in many of the productions from 1943 onwards.

Colin Adamson from Scarborough Cricket Club allowed us to photograph some of the Club's archives stretching back to 1872 while Mrs Margaret Smolensky contacted us via email from Canada with her story about growing up in Scarborough and going to the Scarborough Girl's High School in the 1930s.

Pam Morgan sent us photographs of her son David who was born in Scarborough and swam the English Channel on 26 July 1977 at the age of 13. He became the youngest person to swim the Channel in under 12 hours.

Local fishermen and merchantmen Tom Rowley, Reg Warrener and Dennis Allen agreed to do oral recordings which now run to several hours and are a fascinating record of the fast disappearing aspects of Scarborough's past.

One of the most colourful stories was from Arthur Bishop who ran the tattoo parlour in Eastborough. Arthur started in 1953 when he did his first tattoo using an ordinary needle on a Mr Roy Parks. Arthur retired in 2003 but much of his handy work is still on display on various bits of bodies around the UK.

Doreen and Bill Brown kindly donated a photograph album of pictures from the old streets around the marketplace and old town which were cleared and re-developed in the 1930s. Doreen's grandfather was William Wilkinson, Mayor in the 1930s, who took a series of photographs of Cross Street and Dumble Street.

There are many more donors and many more stories to tell but I will let you discover the Scarborough Community Archive database for yourself at www.commanet.org. I believe this project fits in well with the Society's objectives and I am proud and grateful for the chance to be taking part in it.

The Scarborough Community Archive database has been put together by members of the local community and its accuracy depends entirely on the memories of the contributors and anyone willing to add to the knowledge base built up. If you find any errors or have any information to add or wish to contribute please do contact us via the website or call 01723 360628.

References

¹ Rowena Marsden is currently Arts Development Officer for Scarborough Borough Council.

² John Rushton MBE, local historian and immediate past President of the SAHS.

³ Previously Warwick House c1800, later owned by Lord Londesborough; future unknown.

⁴ Woodend was the home of the Sitwell Family and then became the Woodend Natural History Museum. It is now the Woodend Creative Industries Centre and there is currently no museum in Scarborough dedicated to the town's unique heritage.

⁵ 'Hot spots' are yellow spots placed on the scanned image where individuals, places or objects appear in more than one photograph. These electronic links allow users to filter out the story or connection across the database rather than just stepping through each record numerically or alphabetically.

⁶ Deceased 2008.

⁷ Deceased 2008.

Review

Anne and Paul Bayliss, *Scarborough's MPs (1832 to 1906) and Mayors (1836 to 1906): A Biographical Dictionary*, 120 pp., Scarborough (2008), ISBN 0 9506405 7 3. May be purchased from The Book Den, Scarborough Market Vaults, Scarborough or directly by sending a cheque for £5.25, made payable to A. M. Bayliss, to 2 Cooks Gardens, Scalby, North Yorkshire YO13 0SU.

A glance at the list of previous publications of these authors, as shown on the back cover of this new volume, serves to remind us of the wide range of topics they have studied and written about and of the debt that students of modern Scarborough owe to them. They have now produced what to my mind is a particularly interesting book, adding fascinating detail to names that I had kept coming across during my own researches and, in many cases, including pictures of their subjects.

Scarborough's MPs and mayors in this period were a mixed bunch, some of them distinguished, others not. They include men who made real contributions to the development of the town, including Joshua Rowntree, who served as both MP and mayor, John Woodall, Edward Hopper Hebden and William Morgan. Some of them, like Hebden and Woodall, were active in local affairs for many decades. Others, notably Richard Steble, who like Rowntree was both MP and mayor, only settled in Scarborough after long careers and/or years of public service in other towns and cities, in Steble's case Liverpool. Yet others, it could be argued, were famous more for their self-publicising than for anything they achieved for Scarborough. The name of Sir George Sitwell certainly comes to mind in this respect.

There are many interesting details that could be mentioned in a review of this book, but one thing struck me with particular force while I was studying the information contained in the volume. Most of Scarborough's MPs of this period, as one might expect, were not born in the town. The same is true, however, of a majority of the mayors. What was the connection between these incomers and the development of Scarborough in the nineteenth century? Did they come to Scarborough because it was developing or did their arrival and subsequent work help the town to develop? Or was it both of these things?

A warm welcome, then, for this valuable addition to the published works on the modern history of Scarborough. Dare one hope that Anne and Paul Bayliss will extend their researches to the twentieth century? Some very interesting people served as mayor of Scarborough in the inter-war period.

Keith Johnston

